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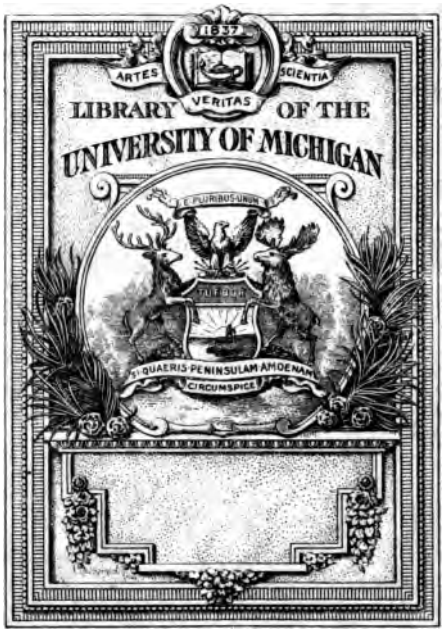
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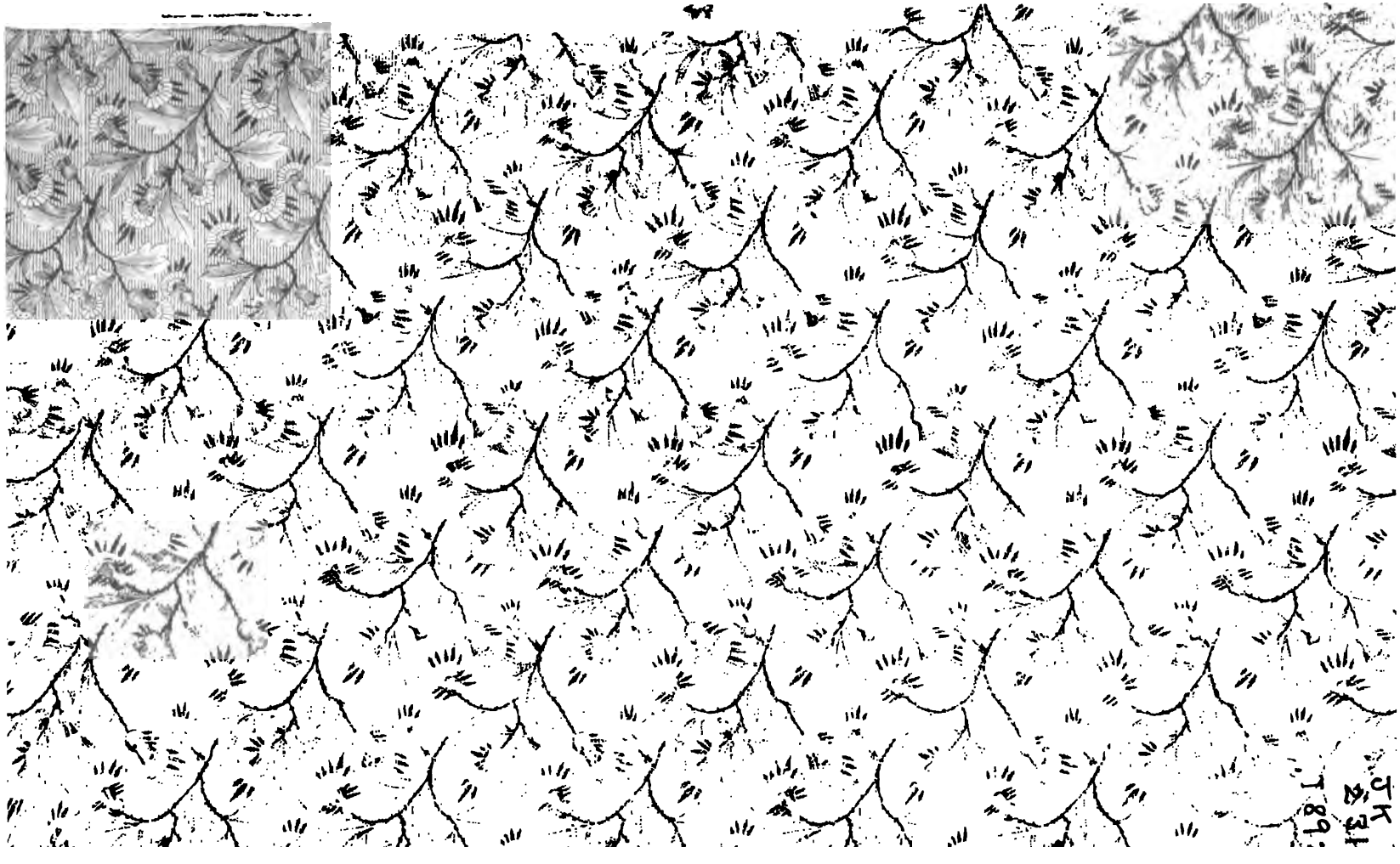

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THE

Campaign Text Book

OF THE

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DEMOCRATIC * PARTY

FOR THE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1892.

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THE PARTY PLATFORM.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM AS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 22, 1892.

The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as at the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party power, and the revival of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all; a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls,

but in contempt of that verdict the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force bill, and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force Bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure which, in the short space of two years, squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already over-taxed labor of the country.

We denounce Republican protection as a fraud; a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in entrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population; and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erect-

ing a custom house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people.

We recognize in the Trusts and Combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of Capital and Labor a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, until now a few railroad and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million (100,000,000) acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890, as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenceless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

We recommend that the prohibitory ten per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876, for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a president may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which the Federal office holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to reform these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad, and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defence and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land,—exiles for conscience sake,—and in the spirit of the founders of our Government, we condemn the oppression practised by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of Justice and humanity, by all just and proper means to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar and to secure to the oppressed equal rights.

We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping-ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration and the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents; but we demand that the work of the Pension office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

For purposes of National defence and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all the Powers of the World, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such Powers of the invitation so extended and the broad and liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the un-

dertaking, we are of opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity of the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for admitting into the Union as States, of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to statehood, and while they remain territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

We favor legislation by Congress and State legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage workers.

We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

We are opposed to all sumptuary law as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 22, 1892.

Speech of the Permanent Chairman, the Hon. William L. Wilson, of West Virginia.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—I thank you most heartily for this honor. I shall try to meet the duties of the high position to which you call me with the spirit of fairness and equality that is Democracy. This Convention has a high and patriotic work to perform. We owe much to our party, we owe more to our country. The mission of the Democratic party is to fight for the under dog. When that party is out of power we may be sure there is an under dog to fight for, and that the under dog is generally the American people. When that party is out of power we may be sure that some party is in control of our Government that represents a section and not the whole country, that stands for a class and not the whole people.

Never was this truth brought home to us more defiantly than by the recent convention at Minneapolis. We are not deceived as to the temper, we are not in doubt as to the purpose of our opponents. Having taxed us for years without excuse and without mercy, they now propose to disarm us of further power to resist their exactions. Republican success in this campaign, whether we look to the party platform, the party candidates, or the utterances of party leaders, means that the people are to be stripped of their franchise through force bills, in order that they may be stripped of their substance through tariff bills.

Free government is self-government. There is no self-government where the people do not control their own elections and levy their own taxes. When either of these rights is taken away or diminished a breach is made not in the outer defences, but in the citadel of our freedom. For years we have been struggling to recover the lost right of taxing ourselves, and now we are threatened with the loss of the greater right of governing ourselves. The loss of the one follows in necessary succession the loss of the other. When you confer on government the power of dealing out wealth you unchain every evil that can prey upon, and eventually destroy free institutions—excessive

taxation, class legislation, billion dollar Congresses, a corrupt civil service, a debauched ballot-box, and purchased elections. In every campaign the privilege of taxing the people will be bartered for contributions to corrupt them at the polls. After every victory there will be a new McKinley bill to repay these contributions with taxes wrung from the people.

For every self-governing people there can be no more momentous question than the question of taxation. It is the question, as Mr. Burke truly said, around which all the great battles of freedom have been fought. It is the question out of which flow all the issues of government. Until we settle this question wisely, permanently and justly, we build all other reforms on a foundation of sand. We and the great party we represent are to-day for tariff reform because it is the only gateway to genuine Democratic Government.

The distinguished leader who presided over the Republican convention boasted that he does not know what tariff reform is. Who ever said that he did? Let us hope, with that charity which beareth all things and believeth all things, that he is truly as ignorant as he vaunts himself to be. Unfortunately the people are not so ignorant of the meaning of protection, at least of the protection which is dealt out to them in the bill that bears his name. They see that meaning "writ large" to-day in a prostrated agriculture, in a shackled commerce, in stricken industries, in the compulsory idleness of labor, in law-made wealth, in the discontent of the workingman, and the despair of the farmer. They know by hard experience that protection, as a system of taxation, is but the old and crafty scheme by which the rich compel the poor to pay the expenses of Government. They know by hard experience that protection, as a system of tribute, is but the old and crafty scheme by which the power of taxing all the people is made the private property of a few of the people.

Tariff reform means to readjust this system of taxation and to purge away this system of tribute. It means that we have not reached the goal of perfect freedom so long as any citizen is forced by law to pay tribute to any other citizen, and until all our taxes are proportioned to the ability and duty of the taxpayer rather than to his ignorance, his weakness, and his patience.

Governor McKinley charges that the Democratic party believes in taxing ourselves. I'm afraid, gentlemen, we mus admit this charge. What right or excuse have we for taxing anybody else? With a continent for a country, with freedom and intelligence as the instruments for its development, we stand disgraced in the eyes of mankind if we cannot and if we do not support our own Government. We can throw that support on other peoples only by beggary or by force. If we use the one we are a pauper nation; if we use the other we are a pirate nation.

The Democratic party does not intend that we shall be either. No more does it intend that they shall call it taxing other people to transfer our taxes from the possessions of those who own the property of the country to the bellies and backs of those who do the work of the country. It believes that frugality is an essential virtue of free government. It believes that the taxes should be limited to public needs and be levied by the plain rule of justice and equality.

But, gentlemen, we are confronted with a new cry in this campaign. The Republican party, says Mr. McKinley, now stands for protection and reciprocity. He was for protection alone when he framed his bill in the House, or rather permitted its beneficiaries to frame it for him, and firmly resisted all efforts of the statesman from Maine to annex reciprocity to it. No wonder that he favors the reciprocity added by the Senate. You may explore the pages of burlesque literature in vain for anything more supremely ludicrous than the so-called reciprocity of the McKinley bill.

It is not reciprocity at all. It is retaliation, and, worst of all, retaliation on our own people. It punishes American citizens for the necessities or the folly of other peoples. It says to a few small countries south of us: "If you are forced by your necessities or led by your folly to make bread higher and scarcer to your people, we will make shoes and sugar higher and scarcer to our people."

And now we are told that reciprocity is to be their battle-cry. Already we are regaled with pictures of Benjamin Harrison clad in armor and going forth to battle for reciprocity on a plumed steed. Simple Simon fishing for whales in his mother's rain barrel, and in great triumph capturing an occasional wiggle-waggle, is the only true, realistic picture of the reciprocity of the McKinley bill.

We are for the protection that protects, and for the reciprocity that reciprocates. We are in favor of protecting every man in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor, diminished only by his proper contribution to the support of the Government, and we are for real reciprocity, not through dickering diplomacy and Presidential proclamations, but by laws of Congress, that remove all unnecessary obstacles between the American producer and the markets he is obliged to seek for his products.

But, gentlemen, I must not keep you from the work that is before you. Let us take up that work as brothers, as patriots, as Democrats. In so large a convention as this—larger in numbers than any previous gathering of our party, and representing a larger constituency than ever before assembled in any convention—it would be strange—ominously strange—if there were not some differences of opinion on matters of policy and some differences of judgment or of preference as to the choice of candidates.

It is the sign of a free Democracy that it is many-voiced and, within the limits of true freedom, tumultuous. It wears no collars; it serves no masters. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that many who have heretofore followed our flag with enthusiasm are to-day calling, with excusable impatience, for immediate relief from the evils that encompass them. Whatever can be done to relieve their burdens, to restore, broaden and increase the prosperity of the people and every part of them, within the limits and according to the principles of free Government, the Democratic party dares to promise that it will do with all its might. Whatever is beyond this, whatever is incompatible with free Government and our historic liberty, it dares not promise to any one. Inveterate evils in the body politic cannot be cured in a moment any more than inveterate diseases in the human system. Whoever professes the power to do so is himself deceived or himself a deceiver. Our party is not a quack or a worker of miracles.

It is not for me, gentlemen, the impartial servant of you all, to attempt to foreshadow what your choice will be or ought to be in the selection of your candidates. You will make that selection under your own sense of responsibility to the people you represent and to your country. One thing only I venture to say, whoever may be your chosen leader in this campaign, no telegram will flash across the sea from the castle of absentee tariff lord to congratulate him. But, from the home of labor, from the fireside of the toiler, from the hearts of all who love justice and do equity, who wish and intend that our matchless heritage of freedom shall be the common wealth of all our people, and the common opportunity of all our youth, will come up prayers for his success and recruits for the great Democratic host that must strike down the beast of sectionalism and the moloch of monopoly, before we can have ever again a people's Government administered by a people's faithful representatives.

SPEECHES OF ACCEPTANCE.

HON. WILLIAM L. WILSON'S ADDRESS OF NOTIFICATION AND THE RESPONSES OF THE CANDIDATES.

At Madison Square Garden, New York, July 20, 1892.

Mr. Wilson's Address.

Mr. CLEVELAND—We bring you to-night a message from the Democratic party. We come as a committee from its national convention, representing every Democratic constituency in the country, to give you official notification that you have been chosen as its candidate for the office of President of the United States. We are also charged with the duty of presenting you the platform of principles adopted by that convention. This platform contains a full and explicit declaration of the position of the National Democratic party on the great political issues of the day. But in all its utterances it is merely a development of one great principle, that whatever governments and laws can do for a people must be done for all the people, without precedence of section or grades of citizenship.

We believe that a government administered in this spirit in such a country as ours will secure a larger measure of freedom and prosperity to the people than has heretofore been possible in the world, and that it will be an example and an inspiration to all mankind. To make and keep ours such a government, to guard with jealous care the rights of equal citizenship—to bear our freedom safely along the march of our material progress, unharmed by the mighty agencies that minister to that progress—this is the high and glorious duty of the Democratic party; a duty that commits it to a never ending warfare with the strongest and most enduring forces of human nature, the lust of power and the lust of greed.

These are the triumphant forces that in all other ages and in almost all other lands have put down freedom and brought government under their control and that are seeking in our own land to add a greater victory and a richer prize to all the triumphs of the past. It is a dangerous thing for a political party to continue its existence after the work which called it into being has been accom-

plished. It will inevitably pass as the political organization against which we contend has already passed into the service of the great special interests which everywhere strive to secure political power for their own advantage.

Of the present policies of that party it may truly be said that they all tend to the centralization of political power in the Federal Government and the centralization of wealth in favored classes. Against both tendencies we fight as against enemies of our freedom. We believe that the opportunities of material prosperity which our country offers, as never before in human history, are a part of that freedom, not to be staked on the issue of political battles or made the booty of party victories. The wealth that all may gain is not a menace but a strong buttress to free government. All men will protect what all may hope to acquire as the open prizes of industry, thought, and intelligence.

But the wealth that comes from control and perversion of the power of taxation that is gathered by unjust laws from the labor of the people is a source of rightful discontent, and a growing peril to our freedom. As guardians of that freedom we plant ourselves upon the principle that the necessities of government are the beginning, and the necessities of government are the ending of just taxation. Whatever goes beyond this increases the power of government at the expense of the liberties of the people. The government that is carried on beneath its own eye, by its own chosen servants, and within reach of its own regulating and punishing arm, that government can be kept its servant.

Yet we have but recently and barely escaped a successful effort to strike down the Government that stands nearest the citizen and to strip from the people in the States that right, preservative of all other rights, the right of holding their own elections and of choosing their own representatives. Such, sir, are some of the issues of the campaign in which we are about to enter. They go to the foundations of our liberty.

In this great contest your party has summoned you to be its leader. Four years ago in the mid-career of a service that well deserved the highest honors your countrymen could bestow, as we feel sure that it will receive the highest encomiums that history can award, you were struck down because as a Democrat you could make no terms with those who wished to plunder the people's Treasury, or those who sought to perpetuate the passions of civil strife. Your countrymen will right that wrong. They will do it not for your sake alone, but for their own sake and the sake of the Republic.

They have seen the fruits of that defeat in many forms of misgovernment. With an overflowing Treasury they have seen taxes increased on the necessaries of life and the necessaries of labor, because private interests demanded it. They have seen that overflowing Treasury emptied by extravagant expenditures and tricks of bookkeeping resorted to to hide its emptiness from the people. They have seen an attempt to turn the gratitude of a great nation into an electioneering fund for a political party, and service to that party in the conflicts of peace count for more than service to the country in the conflicts of war. They have seen every power of the Federal administration passionately used to destroy free elections in the States. They have seen the influence of our Government in its diplomatic and naval service thrown without rebuke against freedom and in favor of despotism in a struggling sister re-

public. And seeing all this they have lost no opportunity in the past four years to honor your administration by laying the heavy hand of punishment upon those who have thus departed from its spirit and its policies.

And now, sir, we put into your hands the commission of which we are bearers. It is the highest honor your party can bestow. It is the gravest call to duty your fellow-Democrats can make. But we believe we can assure you that there are no "weak, weary, or despondent" Democrats in the ranks of our party to-day, and that with the people's cause we doubt not you will lead us to a victory in which the principles of our party shall gloriously triumph and the welfare of our country shall be mightily promoted.

RESPONSES OF THE CANDIDATES TO THE FORMAL NOTIFICATION OF THEIR NOMINATION.

Mr. Cleveland's Response.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN.—The message you deliver from the National Democracy arouses within me emotions which would be well nigh overwhelming if I did not recognize here assembled the representatives of a great party who must share with me the responsibility your mission invites. I find much relief in the reflection that I have been selected merely to stand for the principles and purposes to which my party is pledged, and for the enforcement and supremacy of which all who have any right to claim Democratic fellowship must constantly and persistently labor.

Our party responsibility is indeed great. We assume a momentous obligation to our countrymen when, in return for their trust and confidence, we promise them a rectification of their wrongs and a better realization of the advantages which are due to them under our free and beneficent institutions.

But, if our responsibility is great our party is strong. It is strong in its sympathy with the needs of the people, in its insistence upon the exercise of Governmental powers strictly within the Constitutional permission the people have granted, and in its willingness to risk its life and hope upon the people's intelligence and patriotism.

Never has a great party, intent upon the promotion of right and justice, had a better incentive to effort than is now presented to us.

Turning our eyes to the plain people of the land, we see them burdened as consumers with a tariff system that unjustly and relentlessly demands from them in the purchase of the necessaries and comforts of life an amount scarcely met by the wages of hard and steady toil—while the exactions thus wrung from them build up and increase the fortunes of those for whose benefit this injustice is perpetuated.

We see the farmer listening to a delusive story that fills his mind with visions of advantage while his pocket is robbed by the stealthy hand of high protection.

Our workingmen are still told the tale, oft repeated in spite of its demonstrated falsity, that the existing protective tariff is a boon to them, and that under its beneficent operation their wages must increase, while, as they listen, scenes are enacted in the very abiding place of high protection that mock the hopes of toil and attest the tender mercy the workingman receives from those made selfish and sordid by unjust Governmental favoritism.

We oppose earnestly and stubbornly the theory upon which our opponents seek to justify and uphold existing tariff laws. We need not base our attack upon questions of Constitutional permission or legislative power. We denounce this theory upon the highest possible ground when we contend that, in present conditions, its operation is unjust, and that the laws enacted in accordance with it are inequitable and unfair.

Ours is not a destructive party. We are not at enmity with the rights of any of our citizens. All are our countrymen. We are not recklessly heedless of any American interests, nor will we abandon our regard for them, but invoking the love of fairness and justice which belongs to true Americanism, and upon which our Constitution rests, we insist that no plan of tariff legislation shall be tolerated which has for its object and purpose a forced contribution from the earnings and incomes of the mass of our citizens to swell directly the accumulations of a favored few; nor will we permit a pretended solicitude for American labor, or any other specious pretext of benevolent care for others, to blind the eyes of the people to the selfish schemes of those who seek, through the aid of unequal tariff laws, to gain unearned and unreasonable advantages at the expense of their fellows.

We have also assumed in our covenant with those whose support we invite the duty of opposing to the death another avowed scheme of our adversaries, which under the guise of protecting the suffrage, covers, but does not conceal, a design thereby to perpetuate the power of a party afraid to trust its continuance to the untrammeled and intelligent voters of the American people.

We are pledged to resist the legislation intended to complete this scheme because we have not forgotten the saturnalia of theft and brutal control which followed another Federal regulation of State suffrage; because we know that the managers of a party which did not scruple to rob the people of a President would not hesitate to use the machinery created by such legislation to revive corrupt instrumentalities for partisan purposes; because an attempt to enforce such legislation would rekindle animosities where peace and hopefulness now prevail; because such an attempt would replace prosperous activity with discouragement and dread throughout a large section of our country, and would menace, everywhere in the land, the rights reserved to the States and to the people which underlie the safeguards of American liberty.

I shall not attempt to specify at this time other objects and aims of Democratic endeavor which add inspiration to our mission. True to its history and its creed, our party will respond to the wants of the people within safe lines and guided by enlightened statesmanship. To the troubled and impatient within our membership we commend continued, unswerving allegiance to the party whose principles, in all times past, have been found sufficient for them, and whose aggregate wisdom and patriotism, their experience teaches, can always be trusted.

In a tone of partisanship which befits the occasion let me say to you as equal partners in the campaign upon which we to-day enter, that the personal fortunes of those to whom you have entrusted your banners are only important as they are related to the fate of the principles they represent and to the party which they lead.

I cannot, therefore, forbear reminding you and all those attached to the Democratic Party or supporting the principles which we profess, that defeat in the pending campaign, followed by the consummation of the legislative schemes our opponents contemplate, and accompanied by such other incidents of their success as might more firmly fix their power, would present a most discouraging outlook for future Democratic supremacy and for the accomplishment of the objects we have at heart.

Moreover, every sincere Democrat must believe that the interests of his country are deeply involved in the victory of our party in the struggle that awaits us. Thus patriotic solicitude exalts the hope of partisanship and should intensify our determination to win success.

This success can only be achieved by systematic and intelligent effort on the part of all enlisted in our cause. Let us tell the people plainly and honestly what we believe and how we propose to serve the interests of the entire country, and then let us, after the manner of true Democracy, rely upon the thoughtfulness and patriotism of our fellow-countrymen.

It only remains for me to say to you, in advance of a more formal response to your message, that I obey the command of my party and confidently anticipate that an intelligent and earnest presentation of our cause will insure a popular indorsement of the action of the body you represent.

Mr. Stevenson's Response.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE—I cannot too earnestly express my appreciation of the honor conferred upon me by the great delegated assembly which you officially represent. To have been selected by the National Democratic Convention as its candidate for high office is a distinction of which any citizen might well be proud. I would do violence to my own feelings, Sir, should I fail to express my gratitude for the courteous terms in which you have advised me of the result of the deliberations of the Convention.

Distrusting my capacity fully to meet the expectations of those who have honored me by their confidence, I accept the nomination so generously tendered. Should the action of the Chicago Convention receive the approval of the people I shall, to the best of my humble ability, discharge with fidelity the duties of the important trust confided to me.

Reference has been made in terms of commendation to the late Democratic Administration. Identified in some measure in an important branch of the public service with that Administration, I am gratified to know that it has, in so marked a degree, received the indorsement of the Democratic Party in its National Convention. I am persuaded that intelligent discussion of the issues

involved in the pending contest for political supremacy will result in victory to the party which stands for honest methods in government, economy in public expenditures, and relief to the people from the burdens of unjust taxation.

I am not unmindful, Mr. Chairman, of the grave responsibilities which attach to the great office for which I have been named. I may be pardoned for quoting in this connection the words of the honored patriot, Thomas A. Hendricks, when officially informed that he had been designated by his party for the Vice-Presidency in 1884. He said :

"I know that sometimes it is understood that this particular office does not involve much responsibility, and as a general rule that is so. But sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future. The two parties in the Senate being so nearly evenly divided, the Vice-President may have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote. The responsibility would then become very great. It would not then be the responsibility of representing a district or a State. It would be the responsibility of representing the whole country, and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country. And that vote when thus cast should be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people of the United States."

Should it please my countrymen to call me to this office, the high appreciation of its dignity and of its responsibilities as expressed in the utterances and illustrated in the public life of the eminent statesman whom I have mentioned will be a light to my own pathway.

In the contest upon which we now enter we make no appeal to the passions, but to the sober judgment of the people. We believe that the welfare of the toiling millions of our countrymen is bound up in the success of the Democratic party. Recent occurrences in a neighboring State have sadly emphasized the fact that a high protective tariff affords no protection, and tends in no way to better the condition of those who earn their bread by daily toil.

Believing in the right of every voter to cast his ballot unawed by power, the Democratic party will steadily oppose all legislation which threatens to imperil that right by the interposition of Federal bayonets at the polls.

In a more formal manner hereafter, Mr. Chairman, I will indicate by letter my acceptance of the nomination tendered me by the National Democratic Convention, and will give expression to my views touching the important questions enunciated in its platform.

Mr. CLEVELAND'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

To Hon. William L. Wilson and others, Committee, etc.:

GENTLEMEN—In responding to your formal notification of my nomination to the Presidency by the National Democracy, I hope I may be permitted to say at the outset, that continued reflection and observation have confirmed me in my adherence to the opinions, which I have heretofore plainly and publicly declared, touching the questions involved in the canvass.

This is a time, above all others, when these questions should be considered in the light afforded by a sober apprehension of the principles upon which our government is based, and a clear understanding of the relation it bears to the people for whose benefit it was created. We shall thus be supplied with a test by which the value of any proposition relating to the maintenance and administration of our government can be ascertained, and by which the justice and honesty of every political question can be judged. If doctrines or theories are presented which do not satisfy this test, loyal Americanism must pronounce them false and mischievous.

The protection of the people in the exclusive use and enjoyment of their property and earnings, concededly constitutes the especial purpose and mission of our free government. This design is so interwoven with the structure of our plan of rule, that failure to protect the citizen in such use and enjoyment, or their unjustifiable diminution by the government itself, is a betrayal of the people's trust.

We have, however, undertaken to build a great nation upon a plan especially our own. To maintain it and to furnish through its agency, the means for the accomplishment of national objects, the American people are willing through federal taxation to surrender a part of their earnings and income.

Tariff legislation presents a familiar form of federal taxation. Such legislation results as surely in a tax upon the daily life of our people as the tribute paid directly into the hand of the tax-gatherer. We feel the burden of these tariff taxes too palpably to be persuaded by any sophistry that they do not exist, or are paid by foreigners.

Such taxes, representing a diminution of the property rights of the people, are only justifiable when laid and collected for the purpose of maintaining our government, and furnishing the means for the accomplishment of its legitimate purposes and functions. This is taxation under the operation of a tariff for revenue. It accords with the professions of American free institutions, and its justice and honesty answer the test supplied by a correct appreciation of the principles upon which these institutions rest.

This theory of tariff legislation manifestly enjoins strict economy in public expenditures and their limitation to legitimate public uses, inasmuch as it exhibits as absolute extortion any exaction, by way of taxation, from the substance of the people, beyond the necessities of a careful and proper administration of government.

Opposed to this theory the dogma is now boldly presented, that tariff taxation is justifiable for the express purpose and intent of thereby promoting especial interests and enterprises. Such a proposition is so clearly contrary to the spirit of our constitution and so directly encourages the disturbance by selfishness and greed of patriotic sentiment, that its statement would rudely shock our people, if they had not already been insidiously allured from the safe landmarks of principle. Never have honest desire for national growth, patriotic devotion to country, and sincere regard for those who toil, been so betrayed to the support of a pernicious doctrine. In its behalf, the plea that our infant industries should be fostered, did service until discredited by our stalwart growth; then followed the exigencies of a terrible war which made our people heedless of the opportunities for ulterior schemes afforded by their willing and patriotic payment of unprecedented tribute; and now, after a long period of peace, when our overburdened countrymen ask for relief and a restoration to a fuller enjoyment of their incomes and earnings, they are met by the claim that tariff taxation for the sake of protection is an American system, the continuance of which is necessary in order that high wages may be paid to our workingmen and a home market be provided for our farm products.

These pretences should no longer deceive. The truth is that such a system is directly antagonized by every sentiment of justice and fairness of which Americans are pre-eminently proud. It is also true that while our workingmen and farmers can, the least of all our people, defend themselves against the harder home life which such tariff taxation decrees, the workingman suffering from the importation and employment of pauper labor instigated by his professed friends, and seeking security for his interests in organized co-operation, still waits for a division of the advantages secured to his employer under cover of a generous solicitude for his wages, while the farmer is learning that the prices of his products are fixed in foreign markets, where he suffers from a competition invited and built up by the system he is asked to support.

The struggle for unearned advantage at the doors of the government tramples on the rights of those who patiently rely upon assurances of American

equality. Every governmental concession to clamorous favorites invites corruption in political affairs by encouraging the expenditure of money to debauch suffrage in support of a policy directly favorable to private and selfish gain. This in the end must strangle patriotism and weaken popular confidence in the rectitude of republican institutions.

Though the subject of tariff legislation involves a question of markets, it also involves a question of morals. We cannot with impunity permit injustice to taint the spirit of right and equity which is the life of our republic; and we shall fail to reach our national destiny if greed and selfishness lead the way.

Recognizing these truths, the National Democracy will seek by the application of just and sound principles to equalize to our people the blessings due them from the government they support, to promote among our countrymen a closer community of interests cemented by patriotism and national pride, and to point out a fair field, where prosperous and diversified American enterprise may grow and thrive in the wholesome atmosphere of American industry, ingenuity and intelligence.

Tariff reform is still our purpose. Though we oppose the theory that tariff laws may be passed having for their object the granting of discriminating and unfair governmental aid to private ventures, we wage no exterminating war against any American interests. We believe a readjustment can be accomplished in accordance with the principles we profess without disaster or demolition. We believe that the advantages of freer raw material should be accorded to our manufacturers, and we contemplate a fair and careful distribution of necessary tariff burdens, rather than the precipitation of free trade.

We anticipate with calmness the misrepresentation of our motivesa nd purposes, instigated by a selfishness which seeks to hold in unrelenting grasp its unfair advantage under present tariff laws. We will rely upon the intelligence of our fellow countrymen to reject the charge that a party comprising a majority of our people is planning the destruction or injury of American interests; and we know they cannot be frightened by the spectre of impossible free trade.

The administration and management of our government depend upon popular will. Federal power is the instrument of that will—not its master. Therefore the attempt of the opponents of Democracy to interfere with and control the suffrage of the States through Federal agencies, develops a design, which no explanation can mitigate, to reverse the fundamental and safe relations between the people and their government. Such an attempt cannot fail to be regarded by thoughtful men as proof of a bold determination to secure the ascendency of a discredited party in reckless disregard of a free expression of the popular will. To resist such a scheme is an impulse of Democracy. At all times and in all places we trust the people. As against a disposition to force the way to federal power, we present to them as our claim to their confidence and support, a steady championship of their rights.

The people are entitled to sound and honest money, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or state—whether gold, silver or paper—it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action, or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized, upon equal terms, in the adjustment of our currency.

In dealing with this subject no selfish scheme should be allowed to intervene and no doubtful experiment should be attempted. The wants of our people, arising from the deficiency or imperfect distribution of money circulation, ought to be fully and honestly recognized and efficiently remedied. It should, however, be constantly remembered that the inconvenience or loss that might arise from such a situation, can be much easier borne than the universal distress which must follow a discredited currency.

Public officials are the agents of the people. It is therefore their duty to secure for those whom they represent the best and most efficient performance of public work. This plainly can be best accomplished by regarding ascertained fitness in the selection of government employees. These considerations alone are sufficient justification for an honest adherence to the letter and spirit of Civil Service Reform. There are, however, other features of this plan which abundantly commend it. Through its operation worthy merit in every station and condition of American life is recognized in the distribution of public employment, while its application tends to raise the standard of political activity from spoils hunting and unthinking party affiliation to the advocacy of party principles by reason and argument.

The American people are generous and grateful; and they have impressed these characteristics upon their government. Therefore, all patriotic and just citizens must recommend liberal consideration for our worthy veteran soldiers and for the families of those who have died. No complaint should be made of the amount of public money paid to those actually disabled or made dependent by reason of army service. But our pension roll should be a roll of honor, uncontaminated by ill desert and unvitiated by demagogic use. This is also due to those whose worthy names adorn the roll, and to all our people who delight to honor the brave and the true. It is also due to those who in years to come should be allowed to hear, reverently and lovingly, the story of American patriotism and fortitude, illustrated by our pension roll. The preferences accorded to veteran soldiers in public employment should be secured to them honestly and without evasion, and when capable and worthy, their claim to the helpful regard and gratitude of their countrymen should be ungrudgingly acknowledged.

The assurance to the people of the utmost individual liberty consistent with peace and good order is a cardinal principle of our government. This gives

no sanction to vexatious sumptuary laws which unnecessarily interfere with such habits and customs of our people as are not offensive to a just moral sense and are not inconsistent with good citizenship and the public welfare. The same principle requires that the line between the subjects which are Properly within governmental control and those which are more fittingly left to parental regulation should be carefully kept in view. An enforced education, wisely deemed a proper preparation for citizenship, should not involve the impairment of wholesome parental authority nor do violence to the household conscience. Paternalism in government finds no approval in the creed of Democracy. It is a symptom of misrule, whether it is manifested in unauthorized gifts or by an unwarranted control of personal and family affairs.

Our people, still cherishing the feeling of human fellowship which belonged to our beginning as a nation, require their government to express for them their sympathy with all those who are oppressed under any rule less free than ours.

A generous hospitality, which is one of the most prominent of our national characteristics, prompts us to welcome the worthy and industrious of all lands to homes and citizenship among us. This hospitable sentiment is not violated, however, by careful and reasonable regulations for the protection of the public health, nor does it justify the reception of immigrants who have no appreciation of our institutions and whose presence among us is a menace to peace and good order.

The importance of the construction of the Nicaragua Ship Canal as a means of promoting commerce between our States and with foreign countries, and also as a contribution by Americans to the enterprises which advance the interests of the world of civilization, should commend the project to governmental approval and indorsement.

Our countrymen not only expect from those who represent them in public places a sedulous care for the things which are directly and palpably related to their material interests, but they also fully appreciate the value of cultivating our national pride and maintaining our national honor. Both their material interests and their national pride and honor are involved in the success of the Columbian Exposition; and they will not be inclined to condone any neglect or effort on the part of their government to insure in the grandeur of this event a fitting exhibit of American growth and greatness, and a splendid demonstration of American patriotism.

In an imperfect and incomplete manner, I have thus endeavored to state some of the things which accord with the creed and intentions of the party to which I have given my life-long allegiance. My attempt has not been to instruct my countrymen nor my party, but to remind both that Democratic doctrine lies near the principles of our government and tends to promote the people's good. I am willing to be accused of addressing my countrymen upon trite topics and in homely fashion, for I believe that important truths are found on the surface of thought, and that they should be stated in direct and simple

terms. Though much is left unwritten, my record as a public servant leaves no excuse for misunderstanding my belief and position on the questions which are now presented to the voters of the land for their decision.

Called for the third time to represent the party of my choice in a contest for the supremacy of Democratic principles, my grateful appreciation of its confidence less than ever effaces the solemn sense of my responsibility.

If the action of the convention you represent shall be indorsed by the suffrages of my countrymen, I will assume the duties of the great office for which I have been nominated, knowing full well its labors and perplexities, and with humble reliance upon the Divine Being, infinite in power to aid, and constant in a watchful care over our favored Nation.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND

GRAY GABLES, September 26, 1892.

THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT UNDER PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

A RECORD OF HONEST, CAPABLE AND SUCCESSFUL DISCHARGE OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY.

Sketch of the Candidate for Vice-President.

When the Democratic Administration took possession of the Executive Department of the Government in 1885, that department was found to be subject to conditions and limitations, many of which were extremely adverse to the adoption of Democratic policies and to the application of Democratic principles within its jurisdiction. The duties and functions of the Executive, so far as they were not specifically prescribed by the Constitution, were, in the main, the development of Republican legislation and of twenty-four years of Republican administration; and they had, therefore, taken a Republican direction, extending in some of their ramifications far beyond the limits set by the Democratic party to the rightful exercise of Federal authority, and in others stopping short of those limits.

A quarter of a century of Republican proscription had excluded Democrats from office, and the public service was, therefore, full of subordinates who were not in sympathy with the new Administration, and many of whom too often forgot their public duties in their zeal for their party, thus rendering confidential relations with their superior officers and a thorough and intimate knowledge of the public business upon the part of the latter practically impossible.

Throughout the four years during which the Administration remained in power, a Republican Senate stood ready to reject the President's nominations. Moreover, the people had become so accustomed to the existing order of things, including its inefficiency and its abuses of power, so far as these were known to them, as to regard it as almost a necessary part of the Federal establishment; and by a large proportion of the people, not wholly outside the Demo-

cratic party, any substantial change in method or policy was anticipated with doubts, at least, of its expediency, without proper consideration of its probable effect upon the public interests.

Under these circumstances, and recognizing that in itself the Democratic party was on probation, the Administration, conservative in all things, yet conscious of the abuses which had crept into the Government, proceeded carefully to the accomplishment of much in the way of reform, and that without disturbing the country or any of its interests. In the brief term of its power, the Administration went far to encourage the hope that, notwithstanding the long reign of wastefulness, arrogance and corruption, the Government might be brought back to the course that it pursued in the better days of the republic, before its powers were perverted to the perpetuation of a single party's rule and to the promotion of outrageous taxation and profligate expenditures.

Throughout the public service there was apparent the most exacting requirement of devotion to duty, and from this devotion resulted a performance which was at once honest, business-like and economical. There were no bounties and no subsidies granted to private interests, and there was no attempt to exercise any authority of the Government to continue the Democratic party's supremacy in the country. There was an earnest, and, in view of the many difficulties to be overcome, a very successful endeavor to give to the country a plain, simple and unostentatious government of the people, for the people and by the people.

And something of the measure of the success attained may be seen by a more particular examination into the reforms that were conducted.

The Civil Service.

The Republican party, secure, as it thought, by fair means or foul, from the reach of the people, had maintained for years a debauched civil service, the positions in which it had reserved as rewards for those who had done and were willing to do, without question, the biddings of the party autocrats who controlled the patronage. The service was full of these creatures, and the patronage-mongers ever had a supply of like kind to take the place of any recalcitrant incumbent, and thus "the cohesive power of public plunder" operated to the degradation of the service and the perpetuation of Republicanism. A Republican leader well indicated the condition of things when he said: "I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in office, that the true way by which power should be gained in this republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge."

Hundreds of persons were carried on the rolls without warrant of law, and were dropped and others put into their places at the will of their superior officers, while the salaries due to vacant places were allowed to accumulate into what was called the "lapse fund," for distribution among those whose services, official or political, were required for limited periods. The clerks and other employees were, in each recurring campaign, placed under tribute to the Republican committees. The scandals growing out of this state of affairs are

too familiar to the public to require repetition, and, while the most flagrant abuses antedate the Civil Service Law of July 16, 1883, there were many which were sufficiently serious after that law went into operation. For there was nothing more than a pretense of its enforcement until a short time after the defeat of the Republican party in 1884, when, for the purpose of compelling the Democratic Administration to retain the Republican employees, the law was extended over a considerable number who had not previously been on the classified lists, notably in the Navy Department, presided over by that somewhat notorious civil service reformer, the Hon. Wm. E. Chandler, now a Senator from New Hampshire.

Taking up the task of purifying the service, the President extended the application of the law, until in 1888 there were over 27,000 employees subject to its provisions, or nearly twice as many as when the Administration took charge, and the law was enforced in good faith. The Administration forbade dictation by Federal office-holders in political affairs, cut off many useless employees, gave a sense of security to those who faithfully and efficiently performed their duties, stopped the levying of black-mail, destroyed the office-broker's trade, and aroused an ambition in the service such as was not possible under the servile conditions that had prevailed when the rule that public office is the reward of party service had been the only one recognized in making appointments and in retaining the employees.

The Republican Senate early in the term of the Administration manifested a disposition to retard the progress of reform, by demanding, through a resolution, the transmission to it of the papers on file in the departments relating to removals and appointments, thereby asserting the right to judge of the sufficiency of the reasons upon which the President acted in making changes in the service. The President refused, however, to accede to this demand, stoutly maintaining the rights of the Executive in the premises; and the demand was allowed to fall into "innocuous desuetude" after the President had sent to the Senate a message, the purport of which may be learned from these vigorous sentences:

"The pledges I have made were made to the people, and to them I am responsible for the manner in which they have been redeemed. I am not responsible to the Senate, and I am unwilling to submit my actions and official conduct to them for judgment."

Thereafter the process of reform was much less impeded.

The process began at the top and worked its way throughout the public service, as is shown in the general course of the Government as to all public affairs, both foreign and domestic. A glance at the departments will reveal that course.

The State Department.

There was nothing sensational about the Democratic foreign policy, and a sturdy patriotism characterized its every act. In earlier days the Democratic party had commanded and retained about all the respect for the United States that ever existed among foreign powers, and Mr. Cleveland's Administration adhered to the quiet, peaceful and dignified methods of its Democratic predecessors, yielding nothing of honor and demanding nothing that was not

honorable. But the Government's foreign relations were not without incidents requiring the assertion of a sturdy Americanism, and that assertion was not wanting when required. The rule announced by Jefferson, the father of Democracy, "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none," was scrupulously observed. The menacing power of the Government was not used to intimidate the weak among the nations, and there was no truckling to the powerful. The State Department was not made the collection agent of unscrupulous adventurers with bogus and fraudulent claims against the Governments of South America, and that malodorous system of commercial enterprise known as guano statesmanship was conspicuously absent from our international intercourse. On the contrary, the claims urged by the philanthropic association, composed of Secretary Blaine, one Shipherd, and the firm of Morton, Bliss & Co., of which Vice-President Morton, then Minister to France, is a member, and by that composed of Blaine, Elkins (now Secretary of War), and others, against South American Governments for large amounts to which the claimants presented not even a semblance of title, were promptly thrown out of the department by Secretary Bayard.

Legitimate commercial interests, however, were faithfully guarded and promoted through an improved consular service; and the act providing for the Congress of American Governments south of the United States, which met at Washington (and the credit of which the present Administration has endeavored to appropriate to its own use) became a law during Mr. Cleveland's term of office, and when Mr. Bayard was Secretary of State.

Shortly after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration in May, 1885, he appointed Mr. Anthony M. Keiley, a citizen of Virginia and a gentleman of irreproachable character, to represent the United States, as Minister, in Austria and Hungary. The Austrian Government objected to receiving the new Minister, alleging as a reason for its objection that his wife was a Jewess, and saying that "the position of a foreign envoy wedded to a Jewess by civil marriage, would be untenable," and even impossible in Vienna.

This raised an issue on the Democratic conception of religious liberty, and on the Democratic interpretation of that clause of the Constitution which declares that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to "any office or public trust under the United States," and the Administration vigorously sustained the Democratic-American side of that issue.

Conceding the right of a foreign government to reject an envoy who is *persona non grata*, the Secretary of State resented the assertion of a right upon the part of any government to apply a religious test to an American representative either in his own person or through any member of his family, declaring in an official letter to the Austrian Minister at Washington that "It is not "believed by the President that a doctrine and practice so destructive of "religious liberty and freedom of conscience, so devoid of catholicity, and so "opposed to the spirit of the age in which we live can for a moment be ac-"cepted by the great family of civilized nations or be allowed to control their "diplomatic intercourse.

"Certain it is, it will never, in my belief, be accepted by the people of the "United States, nor by any Administration which represents their sentiments."

Nothwithstanding the position thus taken, and in spite of the fact that, as Secretary Bayard pointed out in a letter addressed to Mr. Francis, then the American Minister at Vienna, that the marriage between Mr. and Mrs. Keiley had been solemnized according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, the Austrian Government finally rejected the new Minister. Mr. Francis was recalled, Mr. Keiley resigned, and the post was permitted to remain vacant for a year, to emphasize the protest of a Democratic Administration against the application of race and religious tests to American representatives.

This incident is but an illustration of the Democratic party's uncompromising antagonism to that bigotry and intolerance which breaks forth in Know-nothingism and in alien and sedition laws in America, and in various oppressions for opinion's sake in the countries of the old world.

Democratic Administrations from the earliest times have always stoutly maintained the rights of American citizens in foreign lands and on the high seas, having put a stop to the application of the European doctrine of "once a subject always a subject," and the British practice of impressment of seamen, as well as having established it as a principle of international law, that after a formal declaration of intent to become a citizen of the United States the person so declaring may return to the country of his previous residence and there be entitled to the protection due an American citizen.

Carrying out the time-honored policy of the party, Mr. Cleveland's Administration performed its whole duty in the protection of Americans abroad. It sent war vessels to the Isthmus of Panama in April, 1885, to protect our citizens in their rights under the treaty of 1846 (with New Granada, now Colombia), to "free and open transit" of the Isthmus, and thus preserved the lives and property of those citizens from the turbulence of the Colombian insurgents.

At its instance Santos was released from unjust imprisonment in Ecuador and in the case of Cutting it successfully resisted the attempt of Mexico to punish the accused for a publication made in Texas. It protested, also, against the claim of the Mexican Government that upon the failure of foreigners sojourning in Mexico to register, as provided by Mexican law, they lost their right to protection from their own governments; and in reply the Administration was informed that the law was abolished.

In China and Turkey the Administration interfered in behalf of American missionaries, and succeeded in securing for them in the latter country the greatest privileges that were ever enjoyed there by ministers of the Christian faith.

In the cases of Dr. Thomas Gallagher and John Curtin Kent, imprisoned in Great Britain, which cases had never occupied the attention of the previous Administration, though these citizens had been arrested in 1883, Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard took a great interest and urged clemency.

The facilities for that voluntary expatriation so much prized by those criminals who seek refuge in foreign countries, there to "live with a high countenance of another man's goods," and their compeers in crime, became painfully apparent long before Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, and he, in the performance of a plain duty to his countrymen, took steps to improve our treaty relations with Great Britain, to the end that these fugitives from justice might be apprehended and subjected to punishment.

The Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842 provides for extradition in only seven classes of crime, to wit: murder, assault with intent to commit murder, piracy, arson, robbery, forgery and the utterance of forged paper. Nearly all our treaties specify various other crimes, and, as Great Britain affords many hospitable refuges, it was deemed necessary that others should be added to the list included in our treaty with that country. Accordingly, the Phelps-Roseberry convention of June 25, 1886, was entered into and submitted to the Senate for ratification.

This convention added these offenses to the list, viz.: manslaughter, embezzlement or larceny of the value of $50 or upwards, burglary, malicious injuries to property whereby the life of any person should be endangered, if such injuries constitute a crime according to the laws of both countries.

This provision, also, was inserted, and it was to extend to the treaty of 1842 as well as to the new one:

"No fugitive criminal shall be surrendered under the provisions of the said treaty (of 1842), or of this convention, if the crime in respect of which his surrender is demanded be one of a political character, or if he proves to the competent authority that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with the view to try or punish him for a crime of a political character."

And through an abundance of caution, this was added:

"A fugitive criminal surrendered to either of the high contracting parties under the provisions of the said treaty (1842), or of this convention, shall not, until he has had an opportunity of returning to the State by which he has been surrendered, be detained or tried for any crime committed prior to his surrender other than the extradition crime proved by the facts on which his surrender was granted."

The Committee on Foreign Relations in the Republican Senate took hold of the new treaty and amended the clause relating to malicious injuries so that it read as follows:

"Malicious injuries to *persons or* property *by the use of explosives, or malicious injuries or obstructions to railways* whereby the life of any person shall be endangered, if such injuries constitute a crime according to the laws of both the high contracting parties, *or according to the laws of that political division of either country in which the offense shall have been committed, and of that political division of either country in which the offender shall be arrested.*"

The words of the amendment are in italics.

The clause in its original form is almost identical with clauses in other treaties, with different countries, which had been ratified by the Senate, and objection to its clear and safe language was not anticipated. But the Republicans on the Committee evidently had in their minds a class of persons who have manifested considerable antipathy to the British crown; so they changed the provision, making it include malicious injuries to persons or property by the use of explosives, without regard to the damage done or to whether or not it endangered life.

In spite of this performance, the Republican Senators and the Republican press charged the Administration with disregarding the dictates of humanity, and with about everything else that a malicious spirit could suggest, in proposing this new convention. After juggling with the treaty for several months, the Senate rejected it, leaving open the avenues of escape to the criminals that could have been extradited under its provisions.

The Northeastern fisheries question, a vexatious inheritance from the Fathers of the Republic, was dealt with by the Administration in a way that would have resulted in its final settlement but for the narrow and partisan action of the Republican Senate.

The history of the contention over the fisheries has been made familiar to the country by frequent discussions in Congress and in the press, and its details are too numerous to be gone over in this chapter. The treaty which was entered into in February, 1887, and which was submitted to the Senate, was one of reciprocal concession, by which there was secured to American fishermen every disputed right that they had considered of value, and more than they had insisted upon, while it gave to Canada no right or privilege which was not entirely fair or which could in anywise interfere with any American interest. And accompanying the treaty was a protocol, containing the substance of the treaty's main provisions, which was to remain in force pending ratification, or not exceeding two years. This, in view of the non-existence of a satisfactory convention upon the subject of the fisheries, was a most important document.

The Senate, however, pursuant to its determination to obstruct the Administration, rejected the treaty in August, 1888, and two days later the President sent a message to Congress asking for power to retaliate upon Canada for injuries to American fishermen. He recommended that he be given authority to suspend, by proclamation, all laws permitting the transit of goods, wares and merchandise in bond across or over United States territory to or from Canada, and that Canadian vessels and their cargoes be allowed precisely the same advantages in American canals that American vessels and their cargoes were allowed in Canadian canals, and that the same be measured by exactly the same rule of discrimination.

The House acted favorably upon this recommendation, but the Senate refused to do so, the Republican majority insisting that the act of March 3, 1887, which provided that, in case any of our fishing vessels had been or should be denied any of their legal rights, or denied certain privileges within Canadian jurisdiction, the President might deny to Canadian vessels, crews, cargoes and products entrance into the ports of the United States, was ample for retaliatory purposes.

The President, in his message, avowed his purpose to enforce this act in all proper cases, but declared it insufficient; and inasmuch as the Senate, when it passed the act of 1887, had before it every complaint of injury that had been lodged against Canada and yet failed to provide imperatively for retaliation, it was palpable that its only purpose was to make political capital out of our international complications, and that, too, by systematic misrepresentation of the situation.

In regard to the seal fisheries, also, the Administration pursued a course which had brought it within sight of a final adjustment. Before Mr. Cleveland went out of office the British authorities exhibited to him an order in council which made provision for the protection of the seals pending negotiations, and had the question been treated by President Harrison along the same lines it would probably have been settled long ago.

But at the end of three years Mr. Blaine, compelled to abandon his positions that Behring Sea is *mare clausum* and that seal-catching by British fishermen is *contra bonos mores*, found himself no nearer the end of the difficulty than he was when he went into office.

A treaty with the Chinese Government also was negotiated and submitted to the Senate in March, 1888. By its provisions the Chinese, including those who had been here, but who were then absent from the country with the expectation of returning, were to be excluded for twenty years. To this treaty the Republican Senate made some immaterial amendments, which rendered necessary its return to the Chinese Government for ratification. That government failing to ratify the treaty, the Scott law was enacted to enforce the President's policy, so far as its enforcement was possible through Congressional enactment.

The conscientious and intelligent management which was shown in great affairs within the jurisdiction of this department was likewise apparent in the details of administration, and the result was an efficient and economical service at home, while abroad the Government was represented by officers, in both the diplomatic and commercial branches, by men who faithfully looked after American interests.

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

To this Department are intrusted the collection and disbursement of the enormous revenues and the management of all the financial affairs of the Government

Under President Cleveland, Hon. Daniel Manning was the first head of the department, and, when ill health compelled him to retire from office, Hon. Charles S. Fairchild was made Secretary of the Treasury, and during their administrations many reforms were instituted in both the conduct of the ordinary business and the operations of the department.

The policy and methods of the Republican party, adopted in many particulars and in general scope to the promotion of other than public interests, were changed or modified, so far as change or modification was possible without legislative sanction, and the repeated refusals of Congress to consent to alterations prevented the application of many more radical reforms. The work done, however, was of substantial benefit to the country.

In the collection of the revenue, both Customs and Internal, the service was honestly and rigidly performed, every precaution against fraud being taken and its perpetrators, when discovered, being punished.

For the years ending June 30, the amounts collected were as follows:

	CUSTOMS.	INTERNAL REVENUE.
1885	$181,471,989 84	$112,498,725 54
1886	192,905,023 44	116,805,936 48
1887	217,286,893 13	118,823,391 22
1888	219,091,173 63	124,296,871 98
1889	223,832,741 69	130,881,513 92

Throughout these years the pecentage of the cost of collection was decreasing, and the following extract from the last report made by the Democratic Commissioner of Internal Revenue, indicates the methods by which these results were reached:

"At the close of the year ended June, 30, 1888, 193 officers, clerks and laborers were employed in this bureau, and the aggregate amount paid during the year for their salaries was $259,687.16.

"During the year ended June 30, 1887, 198 persons were employed, and the aggregate payments on account of their salaries was $250,702.73.

"At the close of the year ended June 30, 1885, the number of persons so employed was 220, and the aggregate amount paid for salaries during that year was $284,591.65. During the year ended June 30, 1884, there were 241 persons employed, and the aggregate payments on account of their salaries was $296,421.48.

A similar statement concerning the other principal bureaus and offices of the department could be truthfully made, all showing improved methods, increased business and reduced cost. On July 1, 1885, there were 3,747 persons on the roll of the department in Washington; on July 1, 1888, there were only 3,433.

But the improvements in the mere details of administration are important mainly as indications of the application to public affairs of the rules applied by business men to their private affairs. It was from the application of these rules to the larger subjects with which the department had to deal that the public derived the greatest benefits.

The efforts put forth in behalf of a reduction of the revenues are fresh in the public mind. Those efforts, from a mere fiscal standpoint, were rendered necessary by the rapidly accumulating surplus in the treasury, which, by reason of an annual excess of revenue over expenditures, threatened to draw from the channels of trade a sufficient volume of the money of the country to cause disaster to every business interest. The excess of revenue over payments for the years named, each ending June 30, was as follows: In 1885, $63,463,771.27; 1886, $93,956,588.56; 1887, $103,471,097.69; 1888, $119,612.116.09.

This condition required a remedy, and it devolved upon the Treasury Department to provide that remedy. The requirements of the Sinking Fund offered to give some relief. Availing himself of this means, Secretary Fairchild determined to make immediate purchases of bonds sufficient to meet those requirements, instead of extending his purchases through the year, as in the usual course of business. In August and September, 1887, he issued circulars inviting the holders of unmatured bonds to tender their holdings for redemption. The result was the purchase of bonds of the par value of $24,844,650, at a cost of $27,842,237.10.

Having exhausted the possibilities of the Sinking Fund and doubting its authority to go into the market to purchase unmatured bonds at a premium for any other purpose than that of supplying this fund, the Administration procured from Congress an expression of opinion, by resolution in both Houses, that this authority was conferred and existed by virtue of a clause in the Appropriation Act of March 3, 1881.

The day following this expression by the Senate, April 17, 1888, the Secretary issued another circular calling for bonds, and under it he purchased, prior

to March 4, 1889, the end of the term, bonds of the par value of $32,279,400, making in all, in round figures, bonds of the par value of $57,125,000, at a cost of about $63,250,000.

The purchase of these bonds before maturity made a reduction in the interest charge amounting to about $6,600,000, which amount represents the saving to the treasury which resulted from a policy the main purpose and effect of which was to keep the money of the country in circulation instead of in the coffers of the Government.

A feature of the circulars issued was the invitation to the holders of securities to deal directly with the Treasury, whereas the Republican administrations had always purchased bonds through the Sub-treasury, where a deposit and other requirements operated to throw the negotiations into the hands of brokers and large holders, the former of whom, of course, charged commissions for their services.

During the interim between the purchases of bonds on account of the sinking fund and those upon the general account, the Administration was compelled to resort to another expedient to prevent a disastrous contraction of the circulation, and this, like the purchase of the bonds, was severely criticized by the Republicans, then out of power, and again, like the purchase of bonds, was the resort of the Republican Administration, when for a brief period it had to deal with a surplus instead of a deficit.

This expedient was the placing of a part of the surplus in public depositories throughout the country, where it was within the reach of the people. The Democratic Administration did not regard this policy as one meritorious in itself, but resorted to it as the best possible means of averting the disaster made imminent by the Republican Senate's persistent refusal to relieve the people from the over-taxation which had filled the Treasury to overflowing.

In carrying out the policy, no favoritism was shown and no discrimination was made on account of the politics of those interested in the banks, nor did the officials of the Treasury discriminate in favor of or against any State or section. The number of depositories was increased from 141 on July 1, 1885, to 294 on July 1, 1888, and the deposits rose from about $13,000,000 to about $60,000,000 within the same time. These deposits were fairly distributed over the country, and the deposits of bonds which the banks were required to make in order to secure them, were more than ample to protect the Treasury against loss, inasmuch as the security in cases of the deposit of 4½ per cents. was equal at par value to the amounts in the banks, and in cases of deposits of the four per cents. the par value of the bonds exceeded by ten per cent. the amounts loaned upon them, while both classes of bonds were selling at high premiums.

Notwithstanding the difficulties to be overcome, the department was successful in increasing the circulation by nearly $87,500,000 between January 1, 1886, and June 30, 1888; and not the least of its accomplishments in this connection was the keeping at par with each other the variegated and heterogeneous currencies for which the country is indebted to the Republican party. This was due to the fact that neither kind of currency was discredited by the officials, who succeeded in adding $177,769,194 of silver to the circulation between July 1, 1885, and July 1, 1889.

The reduction of the interest-bearing public debt between March 1, 1885, and March 1, 1889, together with the premiums paid on bonds, is shown by the following table:

	Three per cent. bonds.	Four per cent. bonds.	Four and one-half per cent. bonds.	Total.
Principal.....	$194,190,500 00	$56,726,550 00	$87,157,800 00	$338,074,850 00
Cost (amount paid)....	194,190,500 00	72,654,890 28	94,419,251 77	361,264,642 05
Premiums paid.....	.....	.....	.....	23,189,792 05

The form of debt statement given to the public under Mr. Cleveland's administration did not include among the available assets the fractional currency and the minor coin. The amount of money in the Treasury to redeem the notes of National Banks which were in liquidation, or had surrendered circulation, was deducted from the total cash, and the matured debt, interest due and unpaid and accrued interest were also deducted.

Secretary Foster, when he found the cash in the Treasury running low, changed the form of statement by including those items in order that it might not show a deficit. The last debt statement issued by the Cleveland administration, that of March 1, 1889, showed a cash balance of

$48,096,158 50 If, however, that statement had been made upon the same basis as the statements of Secretary Foster it would have shown

10,828,552 91 matured debt and accrued interest.

82,500,000 00 National Bank Note Redemption Fund, about.

24,901,270 03 fractional silver currency and minor coin.

There was to the credit of disbursing officers, March 1, 1889,

$58,295,127 62 while the statement of August 1, 1892, shows but

31,100,880 05 in the same accounts, being a difference of

$27,194,247 57 making a surplus as compared with statement of August 1, 1892, of

$193,520,229 01 If we deduct the cash assets shown by the statement of August 1, 1892, viz.:

27,050,286 38 we find that there has been a reduction of cash since March 1, 1889, of

$166,469,942 63

On the other hand, if the statement of the first of August, 1892, was made on the same basis as that of March 1, 1889, it would show the following figures, about

$6,053,153 08 matured debt and accrued interest.

26,105,103 75 National Bank Note Redemption Fund.

14,670,437 10 fractional silver and minor coin.

$27,194,247 57 difference between credits of disbursing officers, March 1, 1889, and August 1, 1892.

$74,022,941 50 Total, from which dedcuct
27,050,286 38 the cash balance August 1, 1892, showing

$46,972,655 12 deficiency if the statement of August 1, 1892, was made on the same basis as the statement of March 1, 1889.

The Cleveland Administration found
$20,965,444 40 cash in the Treasury. It left
48,096,158 90 showing an increase in the cash balance of

$27,131,714 50

Including the debt incurred for Pacific Railroads, Refunding Certificates and the Navy Pension Fund, the Cleveland Administration found an interest-bearing debt of
$1,260,772,562 00 It left
922,729,732 00 showing a reduction of interest-bearing debt by that administration of
$338,042,830 00 to which add the increase in cash balance of
27,131,714 50 and we have a total reduction of debt of

$365,175,544 50

The Harrison Administration found
$922,729,732 00 interest-bearing debt. At present that debt is
663,653,892 00 showing a decrease of

$259,075,840 00 of interest-bearing debt from March 1, 1889, to August 1, 1892. It is impossible in the present condition of the Treasury that there should be any further decrease of the interest-bearing debt during Mr. Harrison's Administration. But from this decrease of interest-bearing debt should be deducted the deficiency in cash of the statement of August 1, 1892, heretofore shown, namely,
46,972,655 12 Showing a total reduction of debt by the Harrison Administration of only
$212,103,184 88 or
153,072,359 62 greater reduction of debt under Cleveland than under Harrison.

The Government receipts under Cleveland were about
$1,442,000,000 00 Under the Harrison Administration the total receipts on a moderate estimate will be
1,542,000,000 00 or

$100,000,000 00 more than the receipts during the Cleveland Administration, showing $253,072,359.62 net to credit of the Cleveland administration.

But it must be further remembered that the Fifty-first Congress appropriated $1,035,700,000 00 and that of this appropriation a very large part has not been accounted for under the expenditures of 1891 and 1892. There is only a cash balance, as heretofore shown, of $27,000,000 with which to meet this great balance of appropriations, with, of course, such surplus of revenue as there may be over expenditure, consequently it is fair to assume that there can be no further reduction of the public debt for years to come, and certainly none during the Harrison Administration. Indeed, when the prudence, induced by the coming election in November is over, we may look for a rapid increase of the public debt and bankruptcy of the Treasury unless Congress devises new sources of revenue.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Between 1868 and the advent of the Democratic Administration, hundreds of millions of dollars had been spent on a navy that did not exist, and when Secretary Whitney was placed at the head of the department, there was not a vessel in the service that could "either fight or run away." It was even said by competent authority that the whole American navy would be at a great disadvantage in an engagement with a single one of the iron-clad vessels belonging to the third-class powers of Europe.

Money had been squandered in futile and fraudulent equipment and repairs of worthless vessels, and corruption and fraud had characterized almost every expenditure made by some of Mr. Whitney's predecessors.

The following, from the Secretary's report for 1887, is given as illustrative of Republican methods:

Among the vessels dropped from the Navy Register and sold during the past year is the "Tennessee."

The history of this vessel is quite interesting and most illustrative. She had a short life, but, as a consumer of money, a brilliant one. Her hull was built and she was equipped in the New York Navy-yard. Her machinery was designed and built under contract by the eminent engineer, Mr. John Ericsson, costing $700.000. Her total original cost was $1,8..6.075.18. Upon her trial trip, in January, 1867, she ran about 1,000 miles. She attained a speed of 16 knots and made a run of 15 knots per hour for four hours. She encountered a perilous storm, described as a hurricane, which continued over twenty-four hours. The ship suffered considerably. The report of her commander says:

The engines moved off finely and worked perfectly during all the storm. * * * Her machinery is as perfect as it need to be. It has undergone the severest test and not once found wanting. She is the fastest ship I have ever seen.

The chief Engineer says:

If the strength and workmanship of the machinery cannot be depended upon, then no reliance is to be placed upon the performance of any steam machinery with which I am acquainted.

Two years afterward she underwent what was called "repairs," and the sum of $57',799 61 was spent upon her; all but $73,000 of this was put on her hull and equipment. It was the full price of a new wooden hull of her size at that time. This was from 1869 to 1871. She then made a cruise of three months and went into the hands of John Roach to enable him to take out the machinery and boilers of John Ericsson, and substitute others of superior character. It was among other things expected to give the ship a 14½-knot speed

for twenty-four hours. When she had her trial of this new machinery in 1875 her maximum speed was 10¾ knots, and she had had put upon her an expense of $801,713.60 in addition to the value of her machinery and boilers taken in trade by Mr. Roach at $65,000. This machinery had cost $700,000; had not been in actual service six months; had never been surveyed and condemned by a board of Government officers, nor its value fixed by any Government board, but it was sold to Mr. Roach as old iron.

That is to say, between 1869 and 1875 the "Tennessee" had had three months' service, and had cost in repairs and improvements $1,443,513.21. This was largely in excess of a fair price for a new ship of her characteristics.

Twelve years afterwards (on April 4, 1887) she is condemned by the Statutory Board as unseaworthy and not worth repairing, and ordered sold, having had put upon her between 1875 and 1887 the additional sum of $577,716.17. She brought $34,525 at the auction sale. She had cost the Government $3,800,000 in round numbers, and had done about ten years of active service, outside of repair shops and navy-yards.

It is often the subject of wonder what has become of the $70,000,000 spent upon war vessels since the close of the war, in view of the fact that there is now no navy. This bit of history will serve as an illustration.

The abuses in contracts for supplies were amazing. Each bureau purchased wherever, whenever and at whatever price it chose to pay, whatever it desired, and that without regard to whether or not it had an adequate supply on hand. Notwithstanding the existence of a statute which required that supplies should be purchased after advertisement, from the lowest bidder, it was the constant practice to make open purchases. Secretary Thompson had made an order that only "emergency supplies," and these not to exceed $500, should be so purchased. Thereupon the practice was changed; supplies were then purchased to be delivered in $500 lots, and the contracts were awarded to the favorites and the henchmen of the purchasing officials. Different officers would purchase the the same sort of supplies from the same persons on the same day at different prices and many vouchers were issued for supplies that were never delivered. Vessels would be ordered into the dock for repairs without investigation into their condition, and the public money was treated as the private property of the bureau chiefs.

Secretary Whitney's inventory of property on hand when he went into the department disclosed an accumulation of stores and supplies amounting to over $20,000,000, in appraised value, more than $3,000,000 of which was, by reason of the articles being obsolete, absolutely wasted. Much of the property was in closed navy yards, where its only service was to give occupation to persons paid for taking care of it and for looking after Republican interests in the elections.

Thus, the navy and the Navy Department were in the same condition, both demoralized.

It was Mr. Whitney's undertaking to bring order out of chaos and to install honesty and efficiency where dishonesty and inefficiency had held sway, and in this undertaking his success was most gratifying. He effected many reforms in the management of the department, stopped the fraud and waste and introduced economy. Though in 1883 the ordinary expenditures of the department were $6,560,701.67 and the deficiency in the appropriation was $121,859.28, in 1887, the last full year of the Administration, these expenditures were only $4,870,522.47, and there was a surplus of $280,310.78 left out of the appropriation, while the total savings in ordinary bureau expenses in the three years, 1886-7-8, comparing those years to 1882-3-4, was $4,301,888.29, the amount

expended in the earlier series of years being $20,221,531.28, and in the later $15,920,143.99.

In the matter of the navy itself, the change was radical. The old wooden hulks were no longer used for the purpose of enriching favorite ship-builders or for giving occupation to political heelers and strikers. As consumers of money these ships had served long and well; now they were to go out of commission so far as that service was concerned, and they were fit for no other.

The navy was to be supplied with modern vessels. The "Atlanta," the "Boston," the "Chicago" and the "Dolphin" had been in process of construction for some time. The knowledge of ship-building and armament had not, in this country, been kept up with the advance made elsewhere, and this deficiency, together with the carelessness which had been encouraged by the department, was apparent in the new vessels, which were found to be far below the requirements of the specifications according to which they were to have been constructed. The contractor had received large amounts of money in excess of what were due him, and the Republican Administration having relinquished every security under its contracts with him, Secretary Whitney, in view of his insolvency, took the vessels off his hands and completed their construction, this being the only way in which the Government could avoid a loss of the whole amount expended. This condition of things was all a Republican legacy.

When Mr. Whitney began his reforms in naval construction, he found that it was impossible to obtain some of the necessary materials in America; but he determined that the American navy should be of American construction. Three manufactories necessary to the construction and armament of modern vessels were lacking; that of steel forgings for the heavier guns, of armor for ironclads, and that of the secondary batteries, or machine and rapid-firing guns. In 1887, he was able to report that these manufactories were building under contracts with the department, and, in his last report, he said that "it is believed that, at the present time, the department has reached the point where entire reliance can be placed upon it for the production of war vessels equal in character to those of any other country."

In order to encourage the manufacture of armor and gun steel, the Secretary advertised for one contract to include all such material, the purchase of which had been authorized, and succeeded in placing the order in Pennsylvania with the Bethlehem Iron Company. The same policy was pursued as to gun steel and the results were similar; and the orders for arms for the secondary batteries were accumulated until they became great enough to induce the erection of an establishment to supply them.

This new policy as to the navy, developed during the Democratic Administration, exhibits as its consequence about all there is of American naval power on the high seas to-day, and all that is to be displayed there hereafter must result from that policy. The "Maine" and the "Texas," armored cruisers, the former the product of the New York Navy Yard, and the latter constructed at the Yard at Norfolk, are Democratic achievements, while of the vessels built at private works, the "Charleston," the "Baltimore," the "Yorktown," the "Petrel," the "Newark," the "Philadelphia," the "San Francisco," the "Bennington," the "Concord," the "Vesuvius" and the "Stilleto," all ves

sels of the best type of their classes, bear witness to the intelligence and thoroughness of Democratic reform.

Indeed, the navy and the Navy Department, sadly in need of revolution, were subjected to a more radical process of reform than, perhaps, was any other part of the public service, and the condition in which they were left at the end of Mr. Cleveland's term of office fully justified the encomiums pronounced by the press and people and vindicated the Democratic assertion, made in the platforms of the party, that a change was demanded. For, through honest and economical methods, the American flag on the high seas was placed in the keeping of a navy that is rapidly becoming able to uphold it and the naval establishment was rendered independent of the foreign shipbuilders, who alone were formerly able to construct such vessels as are required in modern naval warfare.

The War Department.

In time of peace, this department, if properly managed, attracts less of public attention than does any other of the Government. The people do not come in contact with its officials, and its work is mainly routine. While the Republican party controlled it, and before Republican officials were compelled to recognize the superiority of the civil over the military power, and before a Democratic House of Representatives checked the Republican spirit of corruption which ran riot throughout this department, it experienced a very offensive prominence.

Under Democratic control, however, there was absolutely no cause of complaint against the army or against those responsible for the conduct of military affairs. Favoritism was not shown to the army officers who could command political influence more successfully than they could command a military force; there was no corruption anywhere; the army was so managed as to prevent rather than to quell Indian disturbances; information in pension cases was promptly furnished to the Pension Bureau; the discipline of the army was improved, and the whole department was smoothly and economically conducted by Secretary Endicott.

The Interior Department.

Whenever Congress creates a new bureau or assumes jurisdiction over a new subject, the Department of the Interior is utilized in carrying out its designs, until now that department is "not one thing alone, but one thing with other things together," embracing within the wide range of its jurisdiction a greater variety of subjects than are included under probably any governmental agency in the world.

The most important subjects intrusted to the Secretary of the Interior are pensions, Indian affairs, the public lands, patents, the census, interstate commerce, the geological survey, education, labor and railroads. For a review in detail of the four years' work of the bureaus having these subjects in charge, there would be required more space than this book affords.

At first, under Secretary Lamar, and afterwards under Secretary Vilas, this department showed the inevitable improvement that results from conscientious and capable administration.

The Pension Office, under the management of Gen. John C. Black, ceased to be a political bureau, and devoted its energies to the administration of the pension laws in the interest of both the pensioners and the public, without regard to the effect which an elimination of politics from the service might have on succeeding elections. The medical boards were made non-partisan, the duties of examiners were confined to the purposes contemplated by law, and the practice of issuing to these officials roving commissions to marshal votes for the party in power was entirely abandoned. The politics of applicants for pensions was not made a test in the allowance of claims, and the influence of political friends was not permitted to control the action of the bureau, though under more than one previous regime, political bias and political influence had been the determining considerations in great numbers of cases.

The number of employees was not increased, but in some branches of the service reductions were made in the force, and the greater results which came from the bureau are, therefore, attributable to the improved methods employed. These results are shown by the reports of the commissioners for the years named. For 1883–4–5 the reports show that 108,121 original, 79,268 increase and 3,852 miscellaneous certificates were issued, a total of 191,221. For 1886–7–8 there were issued 359,452 certificates, of which 156,226 were original, 181,173 increase, and 22,055 miscellaneous, the number in three years of Democratic pension-granting being larger than that in the three years of Republican administration by 168,231. The net increase to the pension rolls during the three years 1886–7–8 was 105,875; during 1883–4–5 it was 59,428, an excess under Gen. Black of 46,447. From the beginning of Mr. Cleveland's Administration to June 30, 1888, the end of the fiscal year, the net increase was, as stated by Gen. Raum, about 115,000.

During the three years of Gen. Black's term which have been mentioned the disbursements on account of pensions amounted to $217,400,000; during the three years preceding, $183,400,000, a difference of $34,000,000. From March 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, the disbursements were $237,685,704.77.

All comparisons made between allowances during Gen. Black's term and those made during Gen. Raum's term are utterly misleading in so far as they omit reference to the increase of the force under Gen. Raum and to the new pension law, under which the consideration of claims is much less difficult than under the old. Under Gen. Black the pension business was put into the hands of ex-soldiers and their kindred, so far as practicable, and the consequence was that the proportion of such persons in the service was largely increased.

Other Acts of the administration, involving the subject of pensions, are spoken of elsewhere in this book.

The Hon. Wm. A. J. Sparks was Mr. Cleveland's first Commissioner of the General Land Office, and he was succeeded by the Hon. S. M. Stockslager. The main features of the work done by this bureau were the removal from the public domain of the fences unlawfully put there by the cattle kings, the forfeiture and reclamation of millions of acres of land, the hunting down of

fraud in the service and in the entries, the prevention of timber depredations, and the prosecution, civilly and criminally, of the depredators. A large part of the results of this work is shown in other chapters of this volume.

The restoration of indemnity, or what are commonly called "lien lands," was rendered necessary by the action of previous administrations in withdrawing such lands from entry. When the land grants were made to the railroad companies, a provision was usually inserted in the grants to permit the companies to take other lands than those lying within the limits of the grants, in lieu of such portions of the lands granted as might be found to have been previously taken up. It was not intended that these "lien lands" should be reserved from settlement until the companies chose to claim them, but only that, in case they were not taken before the companies selected them, they might then be claimed as indemnity.

The railroads succeeded, however, in getting them withdrawn from the operations of the land laws, and the Democratic administration made it a point to rescind the orders of withdrawal, thus giving the settlers a chance to occupy the lands. The area thus restored was 21,323,600 acres.

Many private claims were found to be equally unfounded. The treaties by which much of the public domain was acquired provided for the security of private titles to portions of the lands ceded, and the number of fraudulent claims set off under these treaties is legion, millions of acres being claimed. The Land Office recovered 576,000 acres so claimed; and it restored from fraudulent and other private entries under the laws, 27,460,609 acres. It removed illegal fences from more than 5,000,000 acres. In the cases of forty-one fraudulent entries of redwood forest land in California, the Land Office saved from the claimants land worth $11,000,000. And the receipts from public lands in the three years 1886–7–8 amounted to $36,087,303, as against $22,519,710 in the years 1882–3–4, an increase of $14,568,593, due in large part to the policy of the office in protecting honest settlers and discouraging the abuse of the land laws.

In this office, as elsewhere, the Administration devoted its services to the public interests, and the reforms which it accomplished will long be felt by the people. Those which have been mentioned have been but faintly outlined, while many others, going to make up an admirable official record, must be omitted to avoid a too lengthy review.

In the Indian service, in the days of complete Republican rule, there were garnered many rich stores of spoils, the Government and the Indians alike being the victims of spoliation. Under Commissioners Atkins and Oberly the bureau was both honestly and economically managed, and the wise policies adopted gave to the Indian a better service, while they promoted every public interest involved. In dealing with the wards of the Government, the Administration was firm, but kind. It sought to develop whatever there is of good in the Indian and to repress what is bad—rather a large undertaking in some respects, but one that met with considerable success. The President took a deep interest in the work, and exhibited both an intelligent comprehension of the questions involved and a strong desire to improve the condition of the Indian by making him self-supporting and by education, as well as by providing him with more comfortable surroundings. Farming and other industrial occupations were en-

couraged, and the Indian schools were improved, the average attendance upon which more than doubled during the Administration, being 6,115 in 1884 and 14,333 in 1887. Disturbances were prevented by keeping the Indians on their reservations and by permitting no trespasses to be made on their territory or their rights. When disturbances did occur, they were suppressed as promptly as the civil and military authorities could suppress them, and the result was four years of comparative quiet on the reservations and in the Indian country.

Notwithstanding the better service, the cost was reduced. In the three years 1882–3–4, the total expenditure was $18,518.613, and in 1886–7–8, it was $18,872,791, of which amounts there was applied to the support of schools in the two periods, respectively $1,149,024.88 and $3,215,430.39, or $2,066,405-50 more for education under Cleveland than under Arthur.

The management of the other bureaus in the Interior Department, though not of so great importance as that of those which have been reviewed, was equally creditable to the officials, responsible for that management, to the Administration, to the Democratic party and to the country. The whole department, reaching out and touching the public interests at many points, illustrated in a most satisfactory manner the benefits to be derived from the application of business principles to governmental affairs.

The Department of Justice.

There is usually not a great deal of popular interest in the management of the Department of Justice, and yet this department is by no means least of all the departments in importance. Its duty is to see that the law is enforced and that the legal interests of the Government are protected. It must be co-operate with every other department and advise the heads of all. It is associated with the judiciary and should be prepared to cope with the foremost legal talent in the world. It controls the United States marshals and their deputies, those public servants that exist on fees, sometimes in the past the intinerant minions of Republican injustice; and it has the power to make itself felt in every man's affairs.

Attorney-General Garland and his corps of able assistants made the department in fact what it is in name. Violators of the revenue, banking and land laws found that a new era had dawned, as did all others who, under Republican rule, regarded the statutes of the United States as only so many formularies devised for their convenience in defrauding the Government and the people.

Suits were instituted to recover vast tracts of land unlawfully held by corporations and individuals, and many hundreds of criminal prosecutions were conducted; especially under the land laws. The number of criminal cases terminated in the various courts in the three years 1885-6-7 exceeded by nearly fifty per cent. the number terminated in the last three years of the preceding administration, yet the court expenses had increased only two and two-thirds per cent.

In connection with the work of this department, the President appointed Melville W. Fuller to succeed Morrison R. Waite, deceased, as Chief Justice of the United States, and L. Q. C. Lamar was transferred from the Interior Department to the Supreme bench, as associate justice. The President,

appointed, also, one circuit and eleven district judges, and in every instance the record made has shown the wisdom of the selection.

The Post Office Department.

For nearly three years the Hon. William F. Vilas was Postmaster General, but upon the appointment of Mr. Lamar to the associate justiceship, Mr. Vilas was placed at the head of the Department of the Interior and the Hon. Don M. Dickinson was made Postmaster General. The Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, present candidate for Vice-President, became First Assistant Postmaster General in August, 1885, and remained with the department until the end of Mr. Cleveland's term.

The postal service felt the influence of business methods from the beginning to the end of the four years. At the end of the fiscal year 1885, the number of post-offices was 51,252 ; four years later it reached 59,000. The revenues of the department at the former date amounted to $42.560,843; at the latter, they had grown to $56,175,611. In 1888 they were $52,695,177. The expenditures had increased only from $50,046,235 to $61,376,847. At the end of the fiscal year 1888, the last full year of the Cleveland Administration, the expenditures had reached only $56,468,315.

In 1882, the mileage of post routes was 343,618; in 1885, 365,251, and in 1888, it had gone to 403,977 ; in 1889, to 416,159.

The number of free delivery offices in 1885 was 177; in 1888, it was 358. The number of carriers in 1885 was 4,348; in 1888, 6,346. The number of pieces handled by carriers in 1885 was 1,744,537,413 ; in 1888 it was 2,630,861,758.

Economy was introduced through reductions in railway, steamboat and star-route charges, by discontinuing illegal payments for apartment-car service, by enforcing the law which provides for mail service over the land-grant railroads at 80 per cent. of the ordinary rates, by reducing the cost of equipment, and in every other way that was feasible, including, of course, the purchase of supplies. The frequency of mails and the rapidity of their transportation were greatly increased all over the country.

The Administration concluded the first parcel post convention with any foreign country, that with Jamaica, in 1887; and afterwards similar conventions were concluded with various other countries, among them Mexico and some of the South American republics. The honesty of the service was above reproach, and large amounts were recovered from dishonest appointees of previous administrations.

This table shows something of Democratic management, and it reveals the secret of increased work without an increased force :

Report of Absences of Employees of the Post-office Department.

Fiscal year ending June 30, 1884	19,818 days.
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1885	19,046 days.
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1886	15,119 days.
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1888	14,264 days.

A saving to the Department of 4,782 days for 1888 as compared with 1885.

The part taken by the First Assistant Postmaster General in the work of the Department was a large one, and the reforms resulting from his participation were highly important. The changes made in the personnel of the service, by which officials who were in sympathy with the Administration were intrusted with the public business, were a fruitful source of honesty and efficiency, though they only illustrated that thorough reform which was inaugurated in all the divisions under the supervision of this thoroughly Democratic official.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The pumpkin seed department, as the Department of Agriculture was derisively called at one time, was only a bureau, until Congress, near the close of Mr. Cleveland's term, raised it to the dignity of an executive department, a dignity to which it had become entitled by reason of the services it had performed under the management of the Hon Norman J. Coleman, at first Commissioner and afterwards Secretary of Agriculture.

This department, in its close relations with the farming interests of the country, was brought to a high state of practical usefulness. It succeeded in establishing experiment stations in the various States and Territories and secured the co-operation of the agricultural colleges throughout the country, through which it is able to publish from time to time the latest information of interest to farmers. Its experiments made in the manufacture of sorghum sugar demonstrated the practicability and great value of that industry in the United States and thus assured to the farmers a profit upon a crop that, in many States, had ceased to be grown.

The work of the department was thus summarized in 1888:

It can be said that its work has been simplified, systematized and made effective; its researches and investigations have been along lines both practical and popular; it has divided divisions and created new sections in order that new investigations might not interrupt those already in progress, or distract attention therefrom; it has established new divisions for the promotion of new studies; it has sent to the country more information upon timely topics than ever before in the history of the department; it has maintained State agencies in several States, and one in Europe for personal investigation of agricultural capabilities and prospects; its continued study of grasses of the country has been of the utmost importance, and has prompted an appropriation by the present Congress for the especial purpose of establishing experimental grass stations; its investigation of destructive insects and methods for destroying them as well as of the habits of useful insects to agriculture, has been vigorous and useful to all sections; its studies of animal diseases have been such as to reflect credit upon this or any scientific institution; its investigation into the utility of American grown cocoons promises results of far-reaching importance; its investigation into diseases of fruits and vegetables has created wide-spread interest; its investigation into food adulterations; its triumph in sorghum sugar making; its victory in stamping out a disease among cattle which threatened the ranges of the West, and its continued success in decreasing the boundaries in which the disease is confined, fully attest how useful this department can be made. It has publicly recognized the work of its 10,000 correspondents and encouraged them to more vigilant efforts and more correct return of crop statistics; it has revived a system of foreign exchanges with the library, which was abolished by a prior administration; it has not only vastly improved the quality of seed sent out but it has largely increased the quantity; it has distributed more seed for less money than ever before; it has abolished positions which existed under former administrations and which were useless, and increased them where useful to the country; it has diffused among the people more information upon a greater number of topics than was ever before sent out to the people; it has established intimate relations with scientific bodies and institutions; it has answered a larger correspondence than ever before on

a greater variety of subjects; it has so conducted its affairs as to receive the plaudits of the press, both agricultural and commercial; its reports have been copiously extracted by the press of foreign countries and favorably criticised; its scientific articles have been translated into many languages; it has received the praise of the leading agricultural thinkers of this country, irrespective of politics; and its work has been complimented not only by agricultural organizations, but in public debate, upon the floor of the Senate by a Senator of an opposite political faith; it has adopted methods for a better protection of public property in its charge, for a better system of accounts, and a more prompt rendering of them to proper accounting officers; the conventions called under its auspices have been better attended than before, and, measured by the test of the confidence expressed by Congress, in annual appropriations, and of the people who are demanding its publications, its administration has been useful, influential, business-like, economical, successful and in accordance with the principles of true democracy.

The President's interest in the subjects pertaining to this department was very great and was manifested in many ways, notably in his recommendations to Congress. He called attention to many needed reforms and urged their adoption.

The subjects here commented upon are only a part of the more prominent features of the Administration. To enumerate, much less to review, all the valuable services performed during the four years would be impossible, and any attempt in that direction would result in needless prolixity. There are thousands of details, the saving of a few dollars here and there and other minor reforms, of which the general public sees nothing save as they are exhibited in general results. These received their due share of attention, as appears from what has been shown.

Concerning the general character of the Administration, but little need be said. The country is familiar with it and knows its effects. It was fair and just to all persons and to all sections, and, for the first time in a generation, there was one policy for the whole country. During those years of Democratic ascendancy there were no scandals, and no cause for scandal. It was recognized that public office is a public trust and official conduct was squared by that rule.

The President, himself a man of conscientious and laborious habits, selected for assistants men who came up to the standard he had erected for himself, and upon whom he could rely to see that there were no laggards in the service. The result was an Administration filling the whole measure of Jefferson's requirements. It was capable, honest, and faithful to the Constitution.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

The Life and Public Career of the Democratic Candidate for Vice-President.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson was born in Christian County, Kentucky, October 23, 1835. His father and mother were natives of North Carolina, which State they left with their grandfathers when they were mere children. The ancestor was Scotch-Irish, the paternal great-grandfather of Mr. Stevenson being a native of the North of Ireland, who settled in North Carolina during the

Revolutionary War. Mr. Stevenson's grandfather removed to Kentucky in 1818, when it was a primitive country, perhaps more primitive than any settlement to be found now. All his people belonged to that old time farming class or community that knew almost no other trade or profession; they lived in times when industries were simple, as also were habits and customs. They knew little of anything else than farming, and as a result they and their neighbors had that attachment to the soil now unfortunately less seen in this country than formerly. Wherever they went—and they traveled from State to State and from county to county, founding in each a new neighborhood—they carried with them the same love of the soil.

The Stevensons were farmers in Ireland, North Carolina and Kentucky; so, when in 1852 the father of Adlai removed to Bloomington, Ill., he broke the traditions of his race and became for the remainder of his life a town resident. The candidate for Vice-president was then about sixteen years of age. Whatever schooling he had been able to obtain had been in the school-houses of the period, sometimes known as "log colleges." In these some wandering pedagogue administered to the wants of a pioneer community. After his removal to Bloomington, the same kind of training was continued until he went to Kentucky and entered himself as a student in Centre College, in Danville, in that State, a Presbyterian institution quite celebrated in its day, and one that has sent forth many prominent men among its graduates and students. The young man did not graduate, but he showed his devotion to the institution by returning a few years later and marrying the daughter of the Reverend Doctor Lewis W. Green, its President, and for many years one of the most distinguished Presbyterian clergymen of the South.

The young man's aspirations carried him into professional life; so in his twenty-second year he left college without graduating and entered upon the study of law in Bloomington with Robert E. Williams. His preceptor is still living and looks back with interest to the days when his young student was making his way through the difficulties incident to the study of the law—difficulties he overcame so well that in 1859 he was admitted to the practice of his profession in Bloomington, the town of his residence. The instinct that had prompted his great-grandfather, his grandfather and his father before him to move had then obtained a hold on young Stevenson, so that he removed to the little town of Metamora, in Woodford County, in the same State, where he settled down to the practice of his profession. He did the work of a young lawyer in a pioneer community and did it well. In general the cases intrusted to him were small, as was the fashion of that day, because the people were not naturally litigious.

Soon after his removal to Metamora he was appointed a Master in Chancery, not then the important office that it has since become in the large centres. There did not come to him, as comes to such men now, the important railroad cases, but what he had to do, as the result of his position, was ordinary routine business mainly of an equity character. But he soon found recognition, and in 1864 he was nominated by the Democratic party for the office of District Attorney, a place which, under the old Constitution of Illinois, carried him into many counties. The Illinois Bar of that day was a strong body of men, and young Stevenson took his place in it naturally and

held it well. During his incumbency in this office he was enabled to perfect himself in his knowledge of his profession. His practice embraced nearly everything that the law then afforded—criminal law, because he was the public prosecutor, and civil cases of every kind besides. He came out of this training well equipped as a lawyer, with sufficient practice to give him confidence in himself and a growing reputation. His industry, honesty and persistence had stood him in good stead.

His next step was into politics, his introduction to which was obtained in 1860, when he made speeches in favor of the election of Stephen A. Douglas. The Democratic leader of that day formed a strong admiration for Mr. Stevenson, and it was perhaps only natural that when Douglas died young Stevenson, although only in his twenty-sixth year, should be called upon by his neighbors to pronounce the eulogy upon the dead man. The speech that he then made would have been creditable to him at any time, but especially so when his youth is taken into consideration. In 1864 Mr. Stevenson was nominated by the Democratic State Convention as a district elector on the McClellan and Pendleton ticket. He made speeches through the canvass of his own Congressional district, one of the largest in the State, and emerged with still more reputation.

During the war he was a Union man and did much to assist in raising the troops in his county. In this way he helped in organizing a regiment, the colonel of which is still living, and engaged in politics in his State, and was then, as now, a strong personal friend of Mr. Stevenson. His record, so far as the defense of the Union is concerned, has never been successfully called in question, and when a few years ago some rash partisan started a contrary story, it was met so promptly that it brought confusion upon the slanderer and was really of assistance to Mr. Stevenson himself.

In 1869 Mr. Stevenson returned to Bloomington, where for some years he gave very little attention to politics, but devoted all his time perfecting himself in his profession and to making a position in it for himself in the town where he was then little known because of ten years absence. Life moved along in this quiet groove until 1874, when he was nominated for Congress, all the elements opposed to the Republican party in the district in which he lived having united in presenting his name. The candidate against him was a very strong man, who was then serving in Congress, and has been since prominent in the politics of his State; but Mr. Stevenson was elected by a substantial majority and entered the 44th Congress, the first controlled by the Democrats after the close of the Civil War.

He at once took a good position in that body, and in the contest between Mr. Kerr and Mr. Randall was known as the firm friend of the former, who was the tariff reform candidate. Here he was assigned to a place on the Committee on Territories, also made a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia. Both of these were very important committees, much more so than at the present time. There were then a large number of territories whose affairs had to be looked after, and the preceding Congress had made an entire change in the government of the District of Columbia, which rendered necessary on the part of the committee a careful revision of all the laws and ordinances of a city government that had been a municipality with popular suffrage. The committee had charge of the devising of a system of taxes and

assessments, the government of the police, and all the various details relating to an important government where mismanagement had been the rule rather than the exception.

The disputed Presidential election of 1876 occurred during the life of this Congress. Mr. Stevenson was an advocate of the Electoral Commission law and spoke in its favor, and when an attempt was made by many indignant Democrats to overthrow the decision of the Commission by fillibustering in the House against the final adoption of the report, he resisted it with all his power, and in the very closing hours, just before the vote was taken, he made a strong and impassioned speech in which he counseled peace and conciliation.

In 1876 Mr. Stevenson was again nominated by all the elements opposed to the Republican party, but was defeated by a majority of little more than three hundred votes, although the Republican candidate for President had carried the district by several thousand. After his retirement from Congress Mr. Stevenson returned to the practice of his profession in Bloomington, never permitting anything to keep him away from the work that he looked upon as his life duty.

In 1878 he was again nominated for Congress and was again able to command the support of all the elements in the district, and after two years absence from the House of Representatives, he was returned to it by a substantial majority. In this body he served upon the Committee of Private Land Claims. His principal work was done as a member of this committee. Here his legal training stood him in good stead, because this committee was almost entirely a judicial one and had jurisdiction of matters growing out of the claims under the treaty between Mexico and the United States after the Mexican War, when the territory was ceded to this country; and in order to do this work it was necessary to study carefully the Spanish laws relating to land.

He took an active part also in the discussion of the Army Bill, in which the Democrats sought to force, as a rider upon that measure, a clause prohibiting the use of the army at elections in the Southern States. Upon this Mr. Stevenson made a short and vigorous speech, which attracted attention at the time and has since been liberally reprinted. Thus he showed in this early, though not the earliest of Force bills, that he knew how to take a stand that showed his sympathies with popular government, and his detestation of a measure then and since so popular with the Republican party.

In 1880 he was again renominated, and was defeated by a majority of only 242. This closed his Congressional career, after which he again resumed the practice of law in the same general lines. In 1884 he was elected a delegate to the National Convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland for the first time, and he was also appointed a member of the Notification Committee. His first meeting with Mr Cleveland was when, as a member of that committee, he notified the candidate of his nomination.

In August, 1885, Mr. Stevenson was appointed to the office of First Assistant Postmaster-General, then by far the most important office in the whole Post-office Department, scarcely excepting even that of the Postmaster-General. He gave close attention to the detail work of the department, the most important of which was the appointment of fourth-class postmasters. These appointments were made almost entirely upon the judgment of the

First Assistant Postmaster-General himself. In very few cases were they presented to the President or even to the Postmaster-General. He did his work well and faithfully. He found a difficult condition of affairs existing, and soon discovered that it was necessary, in order to secure an effective postal service, that a large number of these postmasters should be removed from office and Democratic successors appointed. In February, 1889, just before the close of the administration, Mr. Stevenson was nominated by the President, without consultation with himself, as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court for the District of Columbia, but as a Republican President had then come into office, the Senate took advantage of this situation and refused to take up the case for confirmation.

In April of this year he was elected a delegate-at-large by the State Convention of Illinois to the National Convention at Chicago, and was afterwards chosen chairman of the delegation. He was one of the accepted managers of Mr. Cleveland's canvass and did excellent work in promoting his nomination. His own selection for Vice-President was made without combinations of any kind and was the free choice of the Convention itself.

THE TARIFF.

ATTITUDE OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

Labor Disturbances Following the Enactment of the McKinley Bill.

The Democratic Attitude.

The policy of the Democratic party is now and has been that of a tariff for revenue only. The keynote of its whole platform in 1876 was Reform. It denounced the then existing tariff as "a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and false pretence" and stated its own position in these words "We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue."

Again in 1880 the party pledged itself to its "constitutional doctrines and traditions" among which "a tariff for revenue only" is distinctly avowed.

In the platform of 1884 the party pledged itself "to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners." It demanded "that federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered."

The National Convention of 1888 adopted the tariff resolution of 1884 as interpreted by Mr. Cleveland's message of 1887. The text of this message, omitting an obsolete portion relating to the Treasury Surplus which has since been spent under Republican Administration, is as follows:

President Cleveland's Tariff Message.

Our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these important articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers, to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride, we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a cen-

tury's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workingmen employed in manufactories, than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,809 bakers, 22,083 plasterers and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessaries of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the working man or the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employees either in their opportunity to work or in the

diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist, who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They of course are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woolen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield, is ten cents each pound if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this must be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep, and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the meantime the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woolen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return, in the way of increased prices, his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which when he sold his wool seemed so profitable,

an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point, furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exist, a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and at the same time to emphasize a suggestion that, in accomplishing this purpose, we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to sur-

render something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessaries of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessaries; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve, besides, to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have an opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employees more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the

most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens nor partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Platform of 1892.

That the Democratic party remains true to its traditions and faithful to its allegiance to tariff reform is abundantly testified to by its present platform, the tariff plank of which is a clear declaration of fundamental party doctrine.

It is as follows:

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud; a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley Tariff Law, enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act. We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth, in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population; and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff."

The Democratic party has always maintained the principle that the power to impose and collect taxes in aid of any purely private enterprise is beyond the scope of legislation, and does not pass under free government, even with the general grant of legislative power. This doctrine has been upheld in a long series of decisions in the State and Federal Courts, when efforts have been made to use the taxing power in the States for other than public or revenue purposes.

The principle is the same when Congress undertakes to "impose and collect tariff duties," in aid of private enterprise or for the support of special industries.

The denial of the right of the Federal Government to "impose and collect" tariff duties for the sake of protection is merely saying in a different form of words, that under a government of equal rights there can be no class legislation. It is therefore but a restatement of the position taken by the party in previous platforms.

The fear expressed by the opponents of the party that the equilibrium of commerce, the stability of capital, and the interests dependent thereon, will be overthrown by reckless tinkering with the tariff, is shown to be without foundation by the record made by Mr. Cleveland's administration, and by the conservative stand taken by him and by other leaders of the party. In his first message to Congress, in 1885, are these words:

"Justice and fairness dictate that, in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed."

Again, in his second annual message, is this statement:

"In readjusting the burdens of Federal taxation, a sound public policy requires that such of our citizens as have built up large and important industries under present conditions should not be suddenly, and to their injury, deprived of advantages to which they have adapted their business; but, if the public good requires it, they should be content with such consideration as shall deal fairly and cautiously with their interests, while the just demand of the people for relief from needless taxation is honestly answered.

"A reasonable and timely submission to such a demand should certainly be possible without disastrous shock to any interest; and a cheerful concession sometimes averts abrupt and heedless action, often the outgrowth of impatience and delayed justice."

Senator Hill has spoken for the Democratic party on this point as follows:

"The Democratic party proposes a revision of the tariff. It does not propose the destruction of the tariff, but it proposes simply a modification of it. Tariff revision is not tariff destruction. The majority of the Finance Committee of the Senate made a report. By that report they say that they find that the revenues of the government are excessive. It seems to me that I heard something like that in President Cleveland's message last December. They say that the demand for a reduction of the tariff seems to be imperative. We have heard that before. Then they presented their bill. I am not here to discuss the wisdom of the details of that bill, but I am here to say in the light of these claims, in the light of these facts, in the light of the attitude of the Republicans in Congress and out of Congress, that the report of the majority of the Senate Committee, and the presentation of any bill whatever by them is a confession of judgment in favor of all the positions taken by President Cleveland and the Democratic party."

The fundamental doctrine then of the Democratic party is that the tariff has no logical or constitutional connection with any other purpose of the government than that of raising revenue only. As to the doctrine of protection it takes the position that "Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce and Navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are most thriving when left most free

to individual enterprise." These were the words of Thomas Jefferson in his first annual message to Congress and the Democratic party does not swerve from that position to-day.

Past and Present Attitude of the Republican Party on the Tariff.

Although Protective Tariffs were known in Europe before Columbus discovered America, although the very word "Tariff" is derived from "Tarifa," the name of a town on Spain's southern coast, whence the Moors made forays upon passing vessels, exacting a toll, or "Tariff," as it came to be called from the name of the town, the Republican party has the effrontery to call their system of High Tariffs the "American" system. The fathers of our Republic did not favor the system of excessive taxation which the Republican party has borrowed from the robbing Moors of Spain and dubbed "American": In 1789 Madison said:

"I beg leave to state the grounds on which my opinion with respect to the matter under consideration is founded, namely, whether our present system should be a temporary or a permanent one? In the first place, I own myself the friend to a very free system of commerce and hold it as a truth that commercial shackles are generally unjust, oppressive and impolitic. It is also a truth that if industry and labor are left to take their own course they would generally be directed to those objects which are the most productive, and this in a more certain and direct manner than the wisdom of a most enlightened legislature could point out. Nor do I think that the national interest is more promoted by such restrictions than that the interest of individuals would be promoted by legislative interference, directing the particular application of its industry; for example, we should find no advantage in saying that every man should be obliged to furnish himself by his own labor with those accommodations which depend on the mechanic arts, instead of employing his neighbor who could do it for him on better terms. It would be of no advantage to the shoemaker to make his own clothes to save the expense of the tailor's bill, nor of the tailor to make his own shoes to save the expense of procuring them from the shoemaker. It would be better policy to suffer each of them to employ his talents in his own way. The case is the same in the exercise of arts and agriculture, between the city and the country, and between city and town; each capable of making particular articles in abundance to supply the other, thus all are benefited by exchange, and the less this exchange is cramped by government the greater the proportions of benefit to each. The same argument holds good between nation and nation and between parts of the same nation."

Washington can scarcely be accused of succumbing to the Cobden Club or British gold, yet Washington, on August 15, 1786, said:

"I cannot avoid reflecting with pleasure on the probable influence that commerce may have on human manners and society in general. I consider how mankind may be contented like one great family in fraternal ties. I indulge a fond, perhaps an enthusiastic, idea, that as the world is evidently much less barbarous than it has been its melioration must still be progressive; that nations are becoming more humanized in their policy, and, in fine, that the period is not very remote when the benefits of a liberal and free commerce will pretty generally succeed to the devastations and horrors of war."

It is only in very recent years that the Republican party has openly avowed adherence to such excessive taxation as is exemplified by the McKinley bill. Ten, and even five, years ago leaders of the Republican party held views which to-

day the party denounces as "free trade views," aimed at the destruction of American prosperity and fostered by British gold.

Had ex-President James A. Garfield been a member of the Fifty-first Congress the most powerful pressure which McKinley could have brought to bear upon him could not have induced him to vote in favor of the McKinley bill. During the tariff debate in 1870 he declared in a speech in opposition to the high tariff then under consideration:

"I stand now where I have always stood since I have been a member of this House. I take the liberty of quoting from the *Congressional Globe* of 1866 the following remarks, which I then made on the subject of the tariff:

"'We have seen that one extreme school of economists would place the price of all manufactured articles in the hands of foreign producers by rendering it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them, while the other extreme school, by making it impossible for the foreigner to sell his competing wares in our markets, would give the people no immediate check upon the prices which our manufacturers might fix for their products. I disagree with both these extremes. I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate the international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign products, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy the monopoly of the trade and regulate the prices as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily, we shall year by year, approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade.'"

The high tariffs of our day, now openly defended by the Republican party on the score of protection, were originally advocated as a means of raising revenue to carry on the war. Justin S. Morrill, the father of modern high tariffs, said, May 8, 1860:

"There are no duties proposed on any article for the simple purpose of protection alone. The highest duties in the bill are proposed for the purpose of revenue. The manufacturers might get along with lower duties, but we require the revenue."

On July 17, 1861, he said:

"I believe that the duties on most articles are put too high."

And on June 2, 1864, he said:

"This is intended as a war measure, and we must as such give it our support.

"In making an estimate of the effect of such a war tariff as is now proposed, it is important that we should bear in mind that as we increase the tax on any article we diminish the number of those who will be able to consume it."

The following extracts from speeches and reports of prominent Republicans show what the position of the Republican party was and what it is; these extracts show how the party at one time had some measure of logic and regard for the common weal; but how at present it is concerned only for the pampered classes and monopolists, the beneficiaries of its class legislation:

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1868:

"It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit."

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1884:

"The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus."

Senator MORRILL, of Vermont, 1870:

"It is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist upon the extreme rates imposed during the war if less will raise the necessary revenue."

Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, March 24, 1870:

"The tariff of 1846, although confessedly and professedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we have ever had.

"But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all, and for that purpose, when I can get an opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all the internal taxes upon manufactures."

Senator SHERMAN, March 15, 1872.

"I have listened with patience, day by day, to the statements of gentlemen who are interested in our domestic productions. I am a firm believer in the general idea of protecting their industries, but I assure their representatives here that if the present high rates of duty, unexampled in our country, and higher by nearly 50 per cent. than they were in 1861, are maintained on metallic and textile fabrics after we have repealed the very internal taxes which gave rise to them, and after we have substantially given them their raw materials free of duties, we shall have a feeling of dissatisfaction among other interests in the country that will overthrow the whole system, and do greater harm than can possibly be done by a moderate reduction of the present rate of duty."

Senator SHERMAN, June 9, 1868:

"Every advance toward a free exchange of commodities is an advance in civilization; every obstruction to free exchange is born of the same narrow, despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce; *every obstruction to commerce is a tax on consumption; every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and production, and promotes civilization.* Nothing is worse than sectionalism within a nation; and nothing is better for the peace of nations than unrestricted freedom of commerce with each other."

HENRY CLAY:

In 1840, *in debate with Calhoun, Clay said: No one, Mr. President, in the commencement of the protective policy ever supposed that it was to be perpetual.* We hoped and believed that temporary protection extended to our infant manufactures would bring them up and enable them to withstand competition with those of Europe. If the protective policy were entirely to cease in 1842, it would have existed twenty-six years from 1816, or eighteen from 1824,—quite as long as, at either of those periods, its friends supposed might be necessary.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1835:

The duty constitutes a part of the price of the whole mass of the article in the market. It is substantially paid upon the article of domestic manufacture as well as upon that of foreign production. Upon one it is a bounty, upon the other a burden; and the repeal of the tax must operate as an equivalent reduction of the price of the article, whether foreign or domestic. We say, so long as the importation continues, *the duty must be paid by the purchaser of the article.*

Hon. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH, May 10, 1890:

I sound this note of warning; and whatever this House may decide, and although it may resound with plaudits of utterances that a Chinese wall is the security of our people, yet I assert that there never was a time in the history of the Republican party when it was in more danger of defeat than upon this one suggested idea that it is permissible to levy tribute upon all the people of this country of sixty-five millions to confer a benefit upon a few hundred.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, September, 1884:

Grave public questions confront us. There is a large, perilous and growing surplus in the revenues. It must be removed; not by needless and extravagant expenditures, not by abolishing the proper taxation of whiskey and tobacco, but by freeing entirely those great necessaries of life which enter into the consumption of every household, and by wise and discriminative reductions.

Justice MILLER, of the United States Supreme Court, in Loan Association *vs.* Topeka, 20 Wallace:

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizens, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprizes and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. A "tax," says Webster's Dictionary, "is the rate or sum of money assessed on the person or property of a citizen by Government for the use of the Nation or State." Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the Legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes.

We have established, we think, beyond cavil that there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose.

If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the innkeeper, the banker, the builder, the steamboat owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town.

Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, March 24, 1870:

The agricultural interest, it will be seen, is much the largest interest in its aggregate product as well as in the number of persons employed. I believe no one will claim that this large interest is directly protected. It is true that under Customs laws there is a small duty upon wheat, barley, oats, and other agricultural products, but it does not afford any protection to the great wheat and grain producing regions of the country. Unfortunately for the farmer, the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London or Liverpool. At that market, where the surplus is sold, and which fixes the value of the whole crop, he comes in competition with the grain produced in the Crimea, in Hungary, and in the region of the Baltic, from the fields cultivated by what is known, in comparison with our own, as pauper labor.

But I am told we must so legislate as to furnish a home market for all our agricultural products, and this can only be done by high tariff. Any one examining the subject will see that our agricultural products increase more rapidly than our population, so that if we do not export these products in their natural condition, we must do so by converting them into manufactured articles and export these articles. But this cannot be done under a high tariff, for all nations will buy manufactured products where they are the cheapest, and the nation selling the cheapest will control the market. This rule excludes our highly-taxed manufactures made from highly-taxed materials from the markets of the world, although we have natural advantages possessed by no other nation.

OLIVER P. MORTON, of Indiana, April 30, 1872:

Now, I wish to say to the Senate that I am strongly convinced that we should go further, and reduce the tariff in material respects upon many other articles. * * * The country expects a large reduction, the country knows that it can be made, the country has been promised this reduction, and the dominant party here is responsible to the country for this reduction, and will be held responsible if it is not made.

Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, March 25, 1870:

This large internal revenue tax was made the excuse and the cause of the advance of the tariff of July 14, 1862, and June 30, 1864. I quoted the language yesterday of the then Chair-

man of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1862, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, himself a protectionist, and certainly in favor of the protection of the great interest of Pennsylvania, iron. He made a pledge upon this floor in 1862 that those additions of duties upon manufactured articles imported in this country were made necessary because of the internal revenue taxes. Both he and Mr. Morrill, subsequently Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, declared that the act of June 30, 1864, was a temporary measure, a war measure, and was not intended as a measure which should remain upon the statute-book as a protective tariff in the time of peace.

Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, 1867:

In considering so complicated a subject as a tariff, nothing can be more deceptive than the application of such general phrases as a "protective tariff," "a revenue tariff," "a free trade tariff." Every law imposing a duty on imported goods is necessarily a restraint on trade. It imposes a burden upon the purchase and sale of imported goods and tends to prevent every importation. The expression, "a free trade tariff," involves an absurdity. If you converse with intelligent men engaged in the business of manufacturing they will tell you that they are willing to compete with England, France, Germany, and all the countries of Europe, at the old rates of duty. If you reduce their products to a specie basis, and put them on the same footing they were on before the war, the present rates of duty would be too high. It would not be necessary for scarce any branch of industry to be protected to the extent of your present tariff law. They do not ask protection against the pauper labor of Europe, but they ask protection against the creation of your own laws.

JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State, 1881:

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows per week:

Spinners—English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers—English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employes in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent; women from $3 40 to $4.30, subject to reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are 56, in Massachusetts mills 60 per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually 66 to 69 per week.

Undoubtedly the inequalities in wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

From these returns it is seen that every American spindle consumes 66 pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only 33 pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle.

It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operative's $1 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative.

Senator P. B. PLUMB, of Kansas, Jan. 17, 1883:

I do not ask that any duty shall be increased. No one raising anything within the State of Kansas and no manufacturer in that State asks for an increase of duty on anything. We do ask that a ring—if I may use that expression without offense—a collection and combination of interests located upon the eastern frontier of this country, near to the seat and source of power, easily accessible to tariff commissions and easy to get their ears, shall not have their own way

about everything of this kind, entirely irrespective of the sections of this country remote from the seat and sources of power.

Mr. President, some of us has got to be consulted before this bill finally passes, and some of us will be consulted after the bill has passed in regard to the reasons for the action or non-action taken. I say now to the persons who have the run of this thing, to those who have had control and are better posted, and have been able by arts and by various processes to do those things which were not thoroughly understood—I beg of them to consider that the people are watching this proceeding and that they want no higher taxes, but lower taxes, and that in giving the protection for American industry they want to give a decent chance to a class of people who, by reason of their calling, cannot be protected at all, but who have got to take their chances in the markets of the world for their products, hard products to raise, expensive products to get to market, and in the production of which there is the smallest margin of profit.

I was talking with a farmer from Massachusetts to-day about this thing. He said he had as good a farm as there was in the old Bay State, and yet he said that he could barely make both ends meet, and he complained to me that one of the reasons why he could not do so was because everything else that surrounded him was so much protected that it simply took the difference between profit and loss in his calling and left him a very slim chance indeed from year to year.

JOHN A. LOGAN, in the House, April 18, 1870:

Now when the gentleman, who seems to be the protector to an especial manner of the great labor interests of the country, speaks of this protection being the protection of the labor of this country, I ask him: Does not every farmer and mechanic in this broad land make use of iron in all kinds of labor? The 4,000,000 men that have been freed recently are laborers, are producers, not manufacturers. They are not men of skilled labor; they evidently are not the men who are protected. And then there are the men in the Northwest who produce corn, wheat, oats, pork and beans, etc.; they are producers and consumers, and are not protected; and it is they who pay this large amount of money into the pockets of the manufacturers of this article. And when a gentleman stands upon this floor and tells me that this high, this extraordinary high tariff is for the protection of the laboring men of this country who are not skilled laborers, I tell him I do not understand how he can possibly substantiate such a theory.

Judge THOMAS M. COOLEY, of Michigan, in "Constitutional Limitations":

Constitutionally a tax can have no other basis than the raising of revenues for public purposes, and whatever governmental exaction has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the benefit of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and, therefore, not warranted by constitutional principles.

So much for the past attitude of the Republican party; what is its present position? Where Garfield was for that protection which led to free trade, Harrison supports the McKinley Bill with its higher rate of impost duties than the Morrill Bill, passed only as a war measure to save the Union. Where the Republican platform of 1868 declares that it is due to the labor of the nation that taxation shall be reduced; and where the Republican platform of 1884 pledges the party to correct the inequalities of the tariff, the Republican platform of 1892 boldly avows the doctrine of high protection, while asserting that the McKinley Bill has cheapened the prices of manufactured articles. Following is the Republican tariff plank adopted at Minneapolis, June, 1892:

"We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition

with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon."

The McKinley tariff went into effect on the 4th of October, 1890. What are its effects?

It has by the high duties imposed upon competing products been of great benefit to the "Trusts" already in existence when it passed, at the same time it has made possible the formation of others.

Since the McKinley Tariff went into effect there have been wage reductions in nearly every industry on the products of which increased duties were imposed.

The following table contains merely a few instances of the many wage troubles following the enactment of the McKinley Tariff Law:

Specimen Strikes, Lock-outs and Wage Reductions in Protected Industries following Passage of McKinley Bill, October 4, 1890.

DATE.	LOCATION OF TROUBLE.	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INVOLVED	KIND OF FACTORY OR WORK.	NATURE OF TROUBLE.	CAUSE OF SAME.
1890.					
Oct. 16	Dayton, Tenn	1,200	Coal mine	Strike	Reduction of wages.
" 16	Etna, Tenn	.....	Coal mine	"	"
" 21	Indianapolis	.....	Canning	"	Reduction of 8 to 11 cents per 100 cans.
" 21	Brooklyn, N. Y	200	Morocco	"	Reduction from $12 to $9 per week.
" 24	Williamsburgh, N. Y	1,000	Sugar refinery	Shut down	
" 28	New York	.....	Silk ribbon weavers	Strike	10 per cent. reduction.
Nov. 8	Lynn, Mass	.....	Armature winders	"	Reduction of wages.
" 8	Lowell, Mass	.....	Spoolers and drawing-in girls	"	15 per cent. reduction.
" 10	Union Hill, N. Y	.....	Swiss embroiderers	"	Reduction of wages.
" 15	Lonsdale, R. I	.....	Cotton weavers	.....	Reduction from 53c. on 50 yards cut to 38c. on 55 yards cut.
" 15	Valley Falls, R. I	.....	"	.....	Reduction from 53c. on 50 yards cut to 38c. on 55 yards cut.
" 15	Ashton, R. I	.....	"	.....	Reduction from 53c. on 50 yards cut to 38c. on 55 yards cut.
" 18	Newark, N. J	450	Spinners	Strike	9% reduction.
" 20	Ashland, Pa	70	Undergarment factory	"	Reduction.
" 20	Danbury, Conn	2,000	Fur hat	Lock-out	
" 24	New York City	.....	Vest makers	Strike	"
" 24	"	120	Suspender makers	"	"
" 29	"	.....	Pressmen	"	"
Dec. 2	Portland, Me	.....	Lasters	Lock-out	"
" 4	Shamokin, Pa	.....	Mines	Shut down	
" 4	Brooklyn, N. Y	2,000	Cigar makers	"	
" 4	Lancaster, Pa	175	Rolling mill	"	
" 11		5,000	Pottery workers	.....	Reduction 10 to 40 per cent.
" 11	Newark, N. J	3,000	Thread mills	Shut down	
" 14	Trenton, N. J	.....	Silk weavers	Struck	10 to 25% reduction.
" 18	Plainfield, N. J	.....	Tool makers	Shut down	
" 18	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction of wages.
" 18	Paterson, N. J	.....	Silk weavers	.....	Reduction in wages from 15 to 20 per cent.
" 23	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	15% reduction.
" 29	"	.....	Plush cap makers	"	Reduction.
" 31	Springfield, Ill	.....	Coal miners	"	10c. per capita tax.

DATE.	LOCATION OF TROUBLE.	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INVOLVED	KIND OF FACTORY OR WORK.	NATURE OF TROUBLE.	CAUSE OF SAME.
1891.					
Jan. 1	Scranton, Pa.	.....	Iron and coal company.	.....	20 cents per day reduction.
" 1	Homestead	.....	Steel mill works	.....	10% reduction.
" 1	Pullman, Ill.	.....	Car works	.....	10 "
" 1	Cleveland, Ohio	.....	Iron and steel company	.....	30% "
" 3	New York City	.....	Cloak makers	Shut down	Dull trade.
" 4	Fall River	21	Weavers	Strike	Reduction.
" 6	New York City	48	Cigar workers	"	"
" 8	Scottdale, Pa.	1,200	Coke workers	Shut down	
" 8	Pennsylvania Coke Companies.	16,000	"	Strike	10% reduction.
" 8	Chicago	1,500	Steel mill workers	Shut down	
" 15	Scranton, Pa.	400	"	"	
" 15	Scottdale, Pa.	1,000	Rollers	"	
" 16	New York City	30	Custom dressmakers	Strike	Reduction.
" 16	Adams, Mass.	.....	Celluloid workers	Shut down	
" 19	New York City	.....	Passementerie workers	Strike	Reduction.
" 22	Cleveland, Ohio	10,000	Blast furnace workers	Shut down	
" 22	Zanesville, Ohio	.....	Window glass workers	Shut down	
" 22	Bloseburg, N. Y.	.....	"	"	
" 22	Wellsboro, N. Y.	.....	"	"	
" 22	Covington, N. Y.	.....	"	"	
" 22	Bellefonte, Pa.	.....	Glass workers	Reduced force.	Dull markets.
" 22	Pittsburgh, Pa.	5,000	Iron workers	.....	10% reduction.
" 22	Paterson, N. J.	85	Weavers	Strike	7½% reduction in satin gros grain goods.
" 22	Leavenworth, Kan	400	Coal mines	"	4½c. to 4c. a bushel.
" 22	Ashland, Pa.	Several hundred.	Coal and iron miners	Shut down	
" 23	New York City	.....	Furniture workers	Strike	Reduction.
" 29	Bethlehem, Pa.	1,000	Iron workers	.....	"
" 29	St. Clair, Pa.	500	Coal and iron workers	Shut down	
" 31	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction.
Feb. 1	Steelton, Pa	.....	Steel mill workers	.....	Reduction of from 8 to 10%.
" 2	Birdsboro, Pa.	450	Iron workers	Strike	Reduction of 7%.
" 2	Akron, Ohio	.....	Mower and reaper makers	.....	30 to 60% reduction.
" 2	Allentown, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	10% reduction.
" 3	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction.
" 3	"	.....	Slipper makers	Lock-out	
" 6	Otsego, N. Y.	13	Cordage makers	Strike	Reduction.
" 6	New York City	.....	Silk weavers	"	25% reduction.
" 7	Evansville, Ind.	.....	Coal miners	"	Reduction.

"	7	Jacksonville, Ill.	.....	Underwear garment makers	"	"
"	9	Duquoin, Ill.	.....	Coal miners	.....	Reduction from 69c. to 60c. per ton.
"	10	Pennsylvania coke regions	16,000	Coke workers	Strike	Reduction of 10%.
"	11	Shenandoah, Pa.	600	Coal miners	Shut down indefinitely	
"	12	Pottstown, Pa.	700	Steel mill workers	Strike	Reduction $4.00 to $3.50 per ton.
"	26	Leetonia, O	.....	Furnacemen	"	10% reduction.
"	26	New York City	.....	Furriers	"	Reduction.
Mar.	3	Brooklyn, N. Y.	.....	Lasters	"	"
"	3	Pittsburgh, Pa.	.....	Coal miners	"	10% reduction.
"	5	Ashland, Pa.	300	"	Shut down indefinitely	
"	6	Easton, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	Reductions have brought some of the men's wages down to 90c. per day and others to $3.00 per week.
"	6	Illinois	2,500	Steel mill workers	Strike	Reduction.
"	7	New York City	.....	Cigarette makers	"	"
"	7	"	.....	Cigar makers	"	"
"	7	"	50	Journeyman tailors	"	"
"	10	"	.....	Cigar makers	"	"
"	11	Fall River, Mass.	.....	Cotton weavers	"	"
"	11	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	"	"
"	12	"	.....	"	"	"
"	12	Little Falls, N. Y.	.....	Knitting mills	.....	Reduction averaging from $1.00 to $2.00 per week.
"	12	Providence, R. I.	500	Weavers	Strike	Reduction.
"	12	Pottstown, Pa.	.....	Puddlers and plate mill workers	.....	Reduction $3.75 to $3.50 per ton on puddlers and 7% in plate mill.
"	12	Scranton, Pa.	750	Steel mill workers	.....	Reduction.
"	12	Catasauqua, Pa.	.....	Iron work laborers	.....	Reduction to $1.00 per day.
"	16	Winnepauk, Conn.	.....	Woolen mill weavers	Strike	Reduction of about $2.00 per week.
"	16	Pottstown, Pa.	.....	Iron puddlers	.....	Reduction 7%
"	16	Allentown, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	10% reduction.
"	19	St. Clair, Pa.	2,000	Coal miners	Suspended indefinitely	
"	19	Rondville, Ohio	.....	Coal mines	Suspended indefinitely	
"	19	Pottstown, Pa.	.....	Iron puddlers	.....	Reduction $3.75 to $3.50 per ton.
"	21	Warehouse Point, Conn.	.....	Silk winders and doublers	.....	Reduced from $1.37 to $1 per day.
"	26	Richmond, Va	250	Puddlers	Strike	Reduction from $4 to $3.75 per ton.
"	26	Allentown, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	Reduced 10%.
"	26	Harrisburg, Pa.	.....	Nail workers	Strike	Reduction.
"	26	Paterson, N. J.	130	Ribbon weavers	"	50% reduction.
"	26	Pittsburgh, Pa.	1,000	Cork workers	Lockout	
"	28	Lawrence, Mass.	400	Weavers	Strike	Reduction of 12% and run four looms instead of three.
"	28	Harrisburg, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	Shut down	
April	1	Reading, Pa.	2,000	Iron workers	.....	Reduction from 3 to 5%. Puddlers reduced 25c per ton.
		Braddock, Pa.	.....	Steel workers	.....	Reduction.

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1891.					
April 2	Plymouth, Pa.	.....	Coal miners	Suspended	
" 9	New Haven, Conn.	40	Rolling mill workers	Strike	10% reduction.
" 9	Trenton, N. J.	.....	Brick makers	.....	15 to 2.5% reduction.
" 23	Paterson, N. J.	40	Ribbon weavers	Strike	Reduction 75c. per cut.
" 23	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Weavers	"	Reduction.
" 24	New York City	.....	Tin, sheet and iron workers	"	Reduction.
" 24	Bellefonte, Pa.	.....	Nail workers	Partially shut down	25% reduction.
" 30	Trenton, N. J.	.....	Sanitary pottery workers	Strike	Reduction.
May 7	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	"	Reduction.
" 7	Baltimore	.....	"	"	"
" 7	Newark, N. J.	.....	Leather finishers	"	14% reduction.
" 7	Lynn, Mass.	.....	Morocco workers	"	20% "
" 7	Willimantic, Conn.	.....	Spoolers	.....	Reduction of $1.50 per week.
" 7	Hopedale, Mass.	.....	Weavers	.....	Reduction of 3/4c. per yard.
" 7	" "	.....	"	.....	4% reduction.
" 7	Lowell, Mass.	.....	Spinners	.....	Reduction 3c. per hundred.
" 7	Illinois	.....	Coal miners	.....	Reduction from 69c. to 60c. per ton.
" 7	Catasauqua, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	10% reduction.
" 7	Jacksonville, Ill.	.....	Underwear garment makers.	Strike	Reduction.
" 7	Melburn, Mass.	.....	Hat makers	.....	25% reduction.
" 8	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Silk weavers	Strike	Reduction.
" 12	New York City	.....	Ribbon weavers	"	"
" 13	Dallas, Tex.	.....	Harness and saddle makers.	"	"
" 14	Birdsboro, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	"
" 14	Glen Mary, Tenn	.....	Miners and mine laborers	Lock-out	Reduction 7c. per ton.
" 21	Fulton Co., Ill.	.....	Miners	Strike	10% reduction.
" 28	Brooklyn, N. Y.	.....	Shoe makers	.....	Reduction 3c. on a pair of shoes all round.
June 4	Little Falls	.....	Leather workers	Strike	10% reduction.
" 22	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Silk weavers	"	Reduction.
" 30	New York City	95	Tobacco factory workers	"	"
" 30	Chattanooga, Tenn.	.....	Steel workers	.....	10% reduction.
" 30	Cleveland, Ohio	.....	Blast furnace workers	.....	"
" 30	Little Falls, N. Y.	.....	Knitting mill workers	.....	20% reduction
" 30	Lowell, Mass.	.....	Mule spinners	.....	Reduction 3c. per hundred.
" 30	Lewiston, Me	.....	Weavers	.....	Reduction 3%.
" 30	Allentown, Pa.	.....	Ribbon weavers	.....	Reduction.
" 30	Jamaica Plains, Mass.	.....	Blower workers	.....	Reduction of 10 to 30%.
July 2	Cleveland, Ohio	.....	Cloak makers	Strike	Reduction.

"	4	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	"	Reduction of $1 per thousand.
"	8	Brooklyn, N. Y.	.....	Childrens' jacket workers	Lock-out	
"	8	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction of $1 per thousand.
"	9	Lancaster, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	Suspended	
"	9	Huntingdon, Pa.	350	Iron car equipment workers	Suspended indefinitely	
"	9	Broad Top, Pa.	600	Coal miners	Shut down	
"	9	Findlay, Ohio.	2,000	Flint and window glass workers	Shut down for two months	
"	16	Paterson, N. J	1,000	Locomotive workers	Shut down	
"	16	Collinsville, Mo.	400	Coal miners	Closed up	
"	22	Williamsburg, N. Y.	.....	Framers	Strike	Reduction.
Aug.	1	Wilkesbarre, Pa.	.....	Coal miners	"	Reduction $1.68 to $1.25 per day.
"	4	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Silk weavers	"	Reduction.
"	6	Macomb, Ill.	.....	Pottery workers	.....	15 to 45% reduction.
"	13	New York City	.....	Glucose factory workers	.....	10% reduction.
"	13	Sing Sing, N. Y.	.....	File workers	.....	30 to 50% reduction.
"	20	Gloucester, N. J.	200	Iron workers	Strike	Reduction.
Sept.	3	Trenton, N. J.	90	Wire netting factory workers	"	"
"	7	Williamantic, Conn.	.....	Speeders	.....	Reduced $1.50 per week.
"	10	Sunbury, Pa.	.....	Lumbermen	Strike	Reduced 1c. to 4c. per hour.
"	12	Baltimore, Md.	.....	Tobacco workers	.....	Reduction.
"	17	Akron, Ohio	100	Cereal factory	Strike	"
"	24	Orbisonia, Pa.	500	Iron and coke workers	"	10% reduction.
"	24	Columbia, Pa.	300	Iron workers	Shut down	
"	24	Detroit, Mich.	100	Glass workers	Strike	10% reduction.
"	28	South Framingham, Mass.	.....	Cane bottom workers	"	12 to 25% reduction.
"	30	New York City	.....	Pressers	"	Reduction of $2 per week.
Oct.	6	Paterson, N. J	.....	Silk weavers	Lock-out	Reduction.
"	8	Waltham	900	Waltham Watch Co.	.....	10 to 20% reduction.
"	15	Providence, R. I.	.....	Stocking weavers	Strike	Reduction.
"	25	Pittsburgh, Pa.	.....	Steel workers	.....	15% reduction.
"	26	New York City	.....	Silk weavers	Strike	An obnoxious system of fines.
"	28	Akron, Ohio	.....	Agricultural implement makers	.....	Reduction.
"	29	Canton, Ohio	.....	Watch makers	.....	"
"	29	"	.....	"	.....	20% reduction.
Nov.	5	Catasauqa, Pa.	350	Silk plush mill	Shut down	
"	5	Fall River, Mass.	.....	Linen mills	Strike	Reduction.
"	12	Oxford, N. J	100	Iron and nail workers	Shut down	
"	17	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Weavers	Strike	Reduction.
"	19	Yonkers, N. Y.	.....	Carpet factory workers	Shut down	
"	26	Pittsburgh, Pa.	.....	Wire mill workers	.....	20% reduction.
"	28	"	500	Iron workers	.....	Reduction from $1.50 to $1.35 per day.
Dec.	1	Anderson, Ill.	.....	Glass blowers	Strike	25% reduction.
"	4	Utica, N. Y.	.....	Cotton mill workers	.....	Reduction from about $6.16 to $5.60 per week.
"	9	New York City	300	Cigar makers	.....	Discharged.

DATE.	LOCATION OF TROUBLE.	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INVOLVED	KIND OF FACTORY OR WORK.	NATURE OF TROUBLE.	CAUSE OF SAME.
1891.					
Dec. 9	New York City.	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction.
" 10	Newcombe, Tenn	.....	Miners	"	"
" 24	Shamokin, Pa	600	Coal miners	Shut down	
" 25	Chicago, Ill	.....	Furniture makers	Lock-out	Reduction.
" 30	Pawtucket, R. I.	.....	Cotton mill	Shut down for several months	
" 31	Philadelpaia, Pa	.....	Plush makers	.....	Reduction.
1892.					
Jan. 4	Elgin, Ill	3,000	Watch makers	.....	Reduction from 15 to 60%.
" 5	Bridgeport, Conn	100	Brass workers	.....	Reduction.
" 5	Danbury, Conn	.....	Box makers	.....	20% reduction.
" 7	Wilkesbarre, Pa	.....	Coal miners	Suspended indefinitely.	
" 7	Steinway, L. I.	.....	Silk workers	.....	20% reduction.
" 14	Harrison, N. J	.....	Electric lamp workers	Laid off	Reduction.
" 14	Hartshorne, Ind. T.	.....	Miners	Strike	"
" 14	Bristol, Pa	.....	Stocking knitters	"	Reduction 10c. per dozen.
" 14	Oxford, N. J	.....	Miners and puddlers	Shut down	
" 14	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction of $3 per thousand.
Feb. 6	"	.....	"	Discharged	Reduced wages.
" 13	"	.....	Swiss Embroidery Union	Strike	Reduction.
" 14	Harrisburg, Pa	Bet. 200 and 300	Iron workers	Shut down	"
" 15	Geneva, N. Y	.....	Iron moulders	Strike	"
" 17	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Hosiery mills	"	Reduction of about $3 per week.
" 20	Pottsville, Pa	600	Iron and steel workers	.....	Reduction of 10%.
" 20	Reading, Pa.	630	Rolling mill workers	.....	"
" 25	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Hosiery mills	Strike.	Reduction of about $2 per week.
" 25	Uniontown, Pa.	.....	Iron and steel workers	.....	Reduction 25%.
" 25	Thompsonville, Conn.	.....	Carpet workers	.....	"
" 29	Pittsburgh, Pa.	200	Puddlers	Discharged	
Mar. 2	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction.
" 3	Elizabeth, N. J.	4,000	Singer sewing machine workers	.....	"
" 4	New York City	.....	Clothing cutters	Strike	"
" 6	Des Moines, Iowa	.....	Coal miners	.....	Reduction 90c. to 80c.
" 8	Lebanon, Pa.	.....	Rolling mills	.....	12½% reduction.
" 9	Sparksburgh, Pa.	.....	Puddlers	.....	Reduced from $5.50 to $5 per ton.
" 10	Birmingham, Ala.	.....	Iron furnaces workers	.....	10% reduction.

"	10	Locustdale, Pa.	.....	Miners	Shut down	
"	10	Northampton, Mass.	.....	Weavers, workers and pickers	.....	15% reduction.
"	11	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	Strike	Reduction.
"	11	New York City	.....	"	"	"
"	17	Reading, Pa.	.....	Foundry workers	.....	8 to 10% reduction.
"	17	Birmingham, Ala.	.....	Iron workers	.....	10% reduction.
"	17	St. Paul, Minn.	.....	Fur sewers	Strike	30% Reduction.
"	19	Mahanoy City, Pa.	.....	Coal miners	Shut down	
"	24	Mahoning City, Pa.	1,000	"	"	
"	24	Pittsburgh, Pa.	200	Blacksmiths, axle dept., Carnegie Mill.	Strike	10% reduction.
Apr.	8	Paterson, N. J	200 boys and girls.	Jute mills	"	For 50c. per week advance, the boys have been getting $2.50, the girls $2.
"	9	Memphis, Tenn.	.....	Box makers	Strike	Displacement of union for scab and cheap labor.
"	10	Pittsburgh, Pa.	400	Iron mills	Shut down indefinitely	
"	10	Mahoning and Chenango Valleys of Western Pa., and Eastern Ohio	Several thousands	Blast furnaces	.....	Reduced wages 10%.
"	10	Braddock, Pa.	50	Steel workers	Discharged	Improved machinery.
"	10	Reading, Pa.	.....	Plate mill puddlers	.....	Reduced from $3.75 to $3.50 per ton.
"	10	Pittsburgh, Pa.	.....	Axle hammer men	Strike	7 to 9% per cent. reduction.
"	11	New York City	.....	Cigar makers	"	Reduction.
"	12	Phœnix, Pa.	1,000	Iron workers	Suspension	
"	12	Seyfert, near Reading, Pa.	Bet. 200 and 300	Rolling mill workers	Shut down	
"	13	Ravenna, Ohio.	150	Oatmeal mills	"	
"	14	Bridgeport, Conn.	.....	Plush workers	Strike	10% reduction.
"	17	Reading, Pa.	.....	Iron workers	.....	5 to 10% reduction.
"	19	Butte, Mont.	650	Miners	Shut down	
"	22	Camden, N. J.	175	Morocco leather workers	Lock-out	
"	25	Lehigh Valley Coal Region	600	Coal miners	Shut-out	On account of Reading combine.
"	26	Pittsburgh, Pa.	300	Rolling mill workers	"	
"	30	Newark, N. J.	.....	Union embroiderers	Strike	Reduction.
"	30	Pittsburgh, Pa.	2,500	Iron workers	.....	"
May	1	"	75	Hammer men, etc.	Strike	"
"	1	Pittsburgh, Pa.	50	Iron moulders	.....	20% reduction.
"	4	New York City	40	Wire and spring workers	Strike	10 to 25% reduction.
"	5	Newcastle, Del	100	Woolen mills	"	5c. per cut reduction.
"	5	Lynn, Mass.	20	Spider makers (electric works)	"	20% reduction.
"	5	New York City	.....	Iron moulders	.....	25% reduction.
"	9	Palmer, Mass	.....	Carpet mills	Shut down	
"	10	New York City	.....	Cap makers	Strike	25% reduction.
"	12	Catasauqua, Pa.	170	Silk workers	"	Reduction.
"	19	Wardner, Idaho	.....	Miners and mine laborers	"	"
"	19	La Crosse, Wis.	Several hundred.	Saw mills	Lock-out	

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1892.					
May 19	Brooklyn, N. Y.	2,000	Cordage workers	Shut down	
" 19	Pineville, Ky.	.....	Miners and mine laborers	Lock-out	
" 19	Little Rock and Argenta, Ark.	.....	Cotton oil mills and railroad men	Laid off	
" 21	Detroit, Mich.	150	Pearl button workers	Strike	Reduction.
" 26	Booneville, Ind.	.....	Miners	"	"
June 3	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Cotton workers	"	"
" 4	Hagerstown, Md	.....	Silk weavers	"	"
" 9	Thorndyke, Mass.	75	Weavers	"	3c. per cut reduction.
" 16	Grays, Ky	.....	Miners and mine laborers	"	Reduction.
" 18	Paterson, N. J.	.....	Cotton and linen mill workers	"	"
" 19	Tower, Minn.	1,400	Miners	"	10% reduction.
" 23	New Cumberland, W. Va.	.....	"	"	Reduction.
" 23	Pottsdown, Pa.	.....	Puddlers	.....	Reduced from $5.75 to $3.50 per ton of 2,240 lbs.
" 28	Allentown, Pa.	300	"	.....	Reduced from $3.80 to $3.30 per ton.
" 30	Bellaire, Ohio.	650	Glass workers	Shut down	
" 30	Sumter, S. C.	.....	Cotton mill workers	"	
July 1	Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	Rolling mill employees	Strike	On account of the refusal of manufacturers to sign scale which had been in force several years.
" 1	Boston, Mass.	.....	Weavers	"	Reduction.
" 1	All rolling mills in Mahoning Valley	10,000	Iron and steel workers	Shut down	Refusal of manufacturers to sign new scale as heretofore in force.
" 2	Joliet, Ill.	2,700	"	"	45% reduction.
" 2	Gloucester, Pa.	200	Glass workers	"	
" 2	Malaga	75	"	"	
" 2	St. Clair, Pa.	.....	Miners	.....	Reduced 50c. a yd. and 10c. per wagon.
" 2	St. Louis, Mo.	200	Rolling mill employees	Shut down	Manufacturers refused to sign scale of wages as heretofore in force.
" 3	Brooklyn, N. Y.	29	Lace makers	Strike	Reduction.
" 5	Williamsburg, N. Y.	100	Saw workers	Closed down	
" 6	Philadelphia, Pa.	.....	File makers	Strike	Reduction.
" 10	Sheffield, Mo.	100	Rolling mill workers	Closed down	Manufacturers refused to sign scale of wages as heretofore in force.

The Senate Sub-Committee on the Tariff state that there was a $\frac{75}{100}$ of one per cent. increase in wages from October 1, 1889, to July 1, 1891. That this increase was not on account of, but in spite of, the McKinley bill; that in fact it was in industries not affected by the McKinley bill, was shown by Senator Carlisle:

The Committee caused an investigation to be made as to the rates of wages during this same period in fifteen of what are called general occupations, most of which are almost entirely in the nonprotected industries, as will be seen when I come to state them, and in fifteen special occupations which are highly protected by the tariff law.

The result of that investigation is shown by the report. The fifteen general occupations selected by the committee as fairly representative of the rates of wages received in all the general occupations in the country, were as follows—and I ask Senators to give their attention to them as I state them, in order that they may determine for themselves how far they are protected—bakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers—I suppose there is scarcely anybody who will insist that bricks can be laid in a wall in a foreign country and imported to this country, and therefore a bricklayer is not much protected by a tariff law; cabinetmakers, carpenters—of whom the same thing may be said as of bricklayers, common laborers, farm laborers, machinists, masons—who lay stone in a wall which can not be imported—molders of iron, painters, plumbers, stone-cutters, tailors, and tinsmiths. These are the fifteen general occupations selected by the committee, and they are the occupations in which the rates of wages rose seventy-five hundredths of 1 per cent. during the period covered by the investigation; and they were that much higher at its close than they were at the beginning.

The Senator from Rhode Island stated generally, as will be seen from his printed speech, that the committee had found that, while there had been a decline in prices, there had been an increase of seventy-five hundredths of 1 per cent. in wages, whereas I assert now, with the tables before me, that the only instances in which any increase of wages occurred, taking the whole together, was in these fifteen substantially unprotected industries; and I will show presently that in the fifteen highly protected industries in which the rate of wages had increased before the McKinley bill passed, there was a decrease after it passed. If any of these fifteen general occupations are or can be protected, or in any way assisted by the tariff, it must be cabinet-makers and moulders of iron, and yet, although the McKinley tariff act increased the duties on household or cabinet furniture, the wages of cabinet-makers fell after its passage, and although it reduced the duties upon all forms of iron castings except hollow ware, coated, glazed, or tinned, the wages in that occupation increased after its passage.

I do not make this statement for the purpose of showing that the act itself increased wages in the one case or decreased them in the other. My purpose is simply to show that the tariff does not affect wages at all, except to diminish their purchasing power, because, if it did, we could prove two wholly inconsistent propositions to be true—first, that tariffs raise wages; and, secondly, that tariffs reduce wages. The man who wants to employ labor does just what is done by every other man who wants to procure anything, he gets it at the very lowest rate at which the law of supply and demand will enable him to get it, tariff or no tariff. The employer pursues the same course whether he is in a free-trade country or in a protective country.

The general statement made by the Senator from Rhode Island, that the wages of labor rose seventy-five one-hundredths of 1 per cent. during the period of investigation was true only of the fifteen unprotected occupations, and should have been qualified accordingly.

We ascertained the rates of wages in fifteen other industries, and I will now enumerate them in order that Senators may determine for themselves whether they are industries which the tariff is intended to protect; they are the manufacturers of bar iron, boots and shoes, cotton goods, cotton and woolen goods, crucible steel, flint glass, green glass, lumber, machinery, pig-iron, steel ingots, steel blowers, steel rails, window glass and woolen goods. Here are fifteen of the most highly protected industries in the United States, and the wages of the laborers employed in them fell eighty-nine one-hundredths of one per cent. after the passage of the McKinley act, notwithstanding the rise of seventy-five one-hundredths of one per cent. in the wages of laborers engaged in the nonprotected industries.

One of the most significant facts disclosed by the report in relation to this subject is, that the rates of wages in these protected industries had increased sixty-five one-hundredths of one per cent. between the beginning of the investigation and the approval of the tariff act on

October 1, 1890, and, consequently, the entire decrease of eighty-nine one-hundredths of one per cent. occurred after this law was passed for the benefit of the working man.

CHARACTER OF THE MCKINLEY BILL.

How the Republican party favors the rich at the expense of the poor is indicated by the following:

EXTRACTS FROM THE McKINLEY BILL SHOWING HOW LUXURIES ARE FREE, OR SLIGHTLY TAXED, WHILE NECESSARIES ARE TAXED UP TO TWO HUNDRED PER CENT.

LUXURIES.	TARIFF. Specific.	TARIFF. Ad Val. Per Cent.
Engravings, photographs, etchings (20 years old)	Free	....
Antiquities (prior to 1700)	"	....
Quoits and curling stones, handles	"	...
Fashion plates	"	...
Uncut diamonds	"	...
Cut unset precious stones	....	10
Champagne and sparkling wines, bottles of 1 qt, per doz	$8	....
Coral (uncut)	Free	
Coral (cut)	....	25
Amber	....	25
Pearls	....	10
Paintings, in oil or water colors, and statuary	....	15
Ivory	....	40
Mother of pearl	....	40
Carriages, coach and harness furniture (silver plated, brass plated, or covered)	....	35
Japanned ware	....	40
Musical instruments	....	25
Pickles and sauces	....	35
Comfits and sweetmeats	....	35
Fruits preserved in their own juice	....	20
Ale, porter, beer	....	48
Lemonade and soda water	....	30
Olives, green or prepared	Free	....

NECESSARIES.	TARIFF. Specific.	TARIFF. Ad Val. Per Cent.
Cloths, valued at not above 30c. per lb	33c. and 40%	150
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	86
Shawls, valued at not above 30c. per lb	.....	150
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	85
Blankets, valued at not above 30c. per lb	.....	91
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	71
Hats of wool, valued at not above 30c. per lb	.....	85
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	66
Flannels (for underwear) not above 30c. per lb	.....	108
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	80
Balmorals, valued at not above 30c. per lb	.....	120
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	60
Knit goods, valued at not above 30c. per lb	.....	166
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	79
Axminster, moquette, per sq. yd	.....	65
Brussels	.....	72
Druggets and bockings, printed	.....	84
Felt carpets, figured or plain	.....	80
Wool and worsted yarns, valued at not above 30c. per lb	.....	132
" " above 30c. per lb	.....	72
Gloves, valued at $3.50 and less per doz	$1.75	50
" " above $3.50 per doz	.....	50
Bonnets, hats and hoods (of hair) for men, women and children, valued at less than 30c. per lb	.....	150
Bonnets, hats and hoods (of hair) for men, women and children, valued above 30c., per lb	.....	136
Cotton hose, valued at 60c. and less per doz	.....	53
" above $4.00 per doz	.....	65

Luxuries.	Tariff. Specific.	Tariff. Ad Val.	Necessaries.	Tariff. Specific.	Tariff. Ad Val.
		Per Cent.			Per Cent.
			Cotton underwear, valued at $1.50 per doz	.....	68
			" " $7.00 per doz	.....	60
Orange and lemon peel	Free	....	Cotton cloth, valued at not over 8c. per square yard	.....	62
Fossils	"	....	" " over 12c. per square yard	.....	45
Ice	"	..	Table cutlery, valued at $1 per doz	.....	40
Joss sticks	"	....	" " $8 per doz	.....	42
Sour orange juice	"	....	Condensed milk (old Tariff, 20%)	.....	80
Orchids, lily of the valley, azaleas, palms and other plants for decorative purposes	"	....	Broom corn (no importation), per ton	$8.00	.....
	"	....	Barbed wire, per lb	½c.	....
Sea weed	"	....	Boots and shoes	.....	25
Sauerkraut	"	....	Brooms (increased by McKinley)	.....	40
Briar wood	"	....	Forks and hoes (sold at less price abroad than to our farmers)	.....	45
Velvets and plushes	"	50	Harrows (sold by American manufacturers 10% less abroad)	.....	45
Agates	"	....	Salt per 100 lbs	12c.	.....
Asbestos	"	....	Saws, circular (sold by American manufacturers at a great reduction in price abroad)	.....	80
Cabinets of old coins, etc	"	....	Saws, hand (sold by American manufacturers at a great reduction in price abroad)	.....	40
Downs for beds	"	....	School books	.....	25
Cocoanuts	"	....	School furniture	.....	35
Broken glass	"	....	Tinned plate per lb	2⅛c.	.....
Parchment and vellum	"	....	Watches (American watches sold at lower price abroad than at home)	.....	25
Regalia, gems, statues, etc., for educational societies	"	....	Flannels valued at 50 c. per lb	.....	130
Shot-gun barrels	"	....	Flannels valued above 80 c. per lb	.....	105
Tapioca	"	....	Caskets, coffins and burial goods	.....	45
Coloring for brandy, wine and beer	....	50	Castor oil per gall	80c.	30
Glazed, painted or ornamental brick	....	45	Hewn timber	.....	10
Toys (china), not ornamented (1883, 35%)	....	55	Sawed boards, planks, deals and other lumber of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore and basswood	.....	11
Painted and stained glass	....	45	Wood unmanufactured	.....	20
Swords and side arms	....	35	Hubs for wheels, posts, wagon blocks, etc	.....	20
Epaulets, galloons, laces, etc	....	45	Paving posts, railroad ties, etc	.....	20
Dates	Free	....	Brick (other than fire-brick)	.....	25
Currants	"	....	Common earthenware	.....	25
			Slate pencils (per gross)	4c.	....

Pickles and sauces of all kinds	....	45	
Anchovies and sardines, box	10c.	30	
" " when in any other form	....	40	
Blacksmiths' hammers	.....		14
Razors	.....		74
Spikes, nuts, washers, horse and mule shoes	.....		31
Needles for knitting or sewing machines	.....		35
Horses, valued at $150 and over	.....		89
" under $150	.....		70
Barley, per bush	30c.		45
Buckwheat, per bush	15c.		88
Indian corn or maize, per bush	15c.		30
Corn meal, per bush	20c.		22
Oats, per bush	15c.		33
Oatmeal, per lb	1c.		34
Rice, cleaned, per lb	2c.		104
" uncleaned, per lb	1¼c.		84
Rye, per bush	10c.		7
Rye flour, per lb	½c.		12
Wheat, per bush	25c.		12
DAIRY PRODUCTS.			
Butter and substitutes, per lb	6c.		31
Fresh milk, per gal	5c.		60
FARM AND FIELD PRODUCTS.			
Beans, per bush. of 60 lbs	40c.		25
Cabbages, each	3c.		60
Eggs, per doz	5c.		33
Hay, per ton	$4.00		39
Onions, per bush	40c.		40
Potatoes (bushel)	25c.		69
SEEDS.			
Garden seeds, except beet sugar	.....		20
Straw	.....		30
Vegetables in salt or brine	.....		45
Agricultural seeds	.....		20
Vegetables in natural state	.....		25
FISH.			
Herrings, pickled or salted, per lb	½c.		14
Mackerel, " "	1c.		15
Salmon, " "	1c.		13
FRUITS.			
Apples (green or ripe) per bush	25c.		50
" prepared in any manner, per lb	2c.		50
Grapes, per bbl	60c.		25

Luxuries.	Tariff. Specific.	Tariff. Ad Val.	Necessaries.	Tariff. Specific.	Tariff. Ad Val.
		Per Cent.			Per Cent.
			Lemons (per 1,000)	$1.59	120
			Oranges (per 1,000)	$1.50	40
			Limes (per 1,000)	$1.50	42
			Meat Products.		
Game	....	10	Bacons and hams, per lb	5c.	30
			Beef and pork, per lb	2c.	30
			Mutton	2c.	....
			Prepared or preserved meats	....	25
			Poultry, live (lb.)	3c.	33
			" dressed (lb.)	5c.	33
			Tallow (lb.)	1c	30
			Wool grease	¼c.	35
			Miscellaneous.		
			Starch	2c.	92
			Mustard (lb.)	10c.	39
			Hemp and Jute.		
			Flax straw (per ton)	$5.00	20
			" not hackled or dressed (lb.)	1c.	11
			Tow of flax or hemp (lb.)	½c.	9
			Hemp (ton)	$25.00	16
			" hackled, line of hemp (ton)	$50.00	....
			Yarn made of jute	.....	35c.
			Bags for grain made of burlaps, per lb	2c.	80
			Seines, nets, etc	.....	50
			Oil-cloths for floors	.....	40
			Yarn composed of flax or hemp, valued at 13c. or less per lb	.....	46
			" " " over 13c. per lb	.....	45
Laces, edgings, insertings, neck ruffings, lace window curtains, etc.	....	60	Collars and cuffs (per doz.)	.....	45
			Shirts (composed in whole or in part of linen)	.....	55

Patent leather	...	20	**WOOL AND WOOLENS.**		
			Ready made clothing and wearing apparel of every description (lb.)	49½c. and 60%	85
			Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters and other outside garments for ladies and children (lb.)	49½c. and 60%	85
			EXPLOSIVE SUBSTANCES.		
			Gunpowder and all explosive substances used for mining, blasting, etc., valued at 20c. or less per lb	.....	31
			Valued at above 20c. per lb	.....	7
			Matches (gross boxes, 100 ea.)	10c.	33
			SUNDRIES.		
			Hats for men, women and children, composed of the fur of the rabbit, beaver or other animal	.....	55

TARIFF AND WAGES.

FALSITY OF THE CLAIM THAT WAGES ARE RAISED BY THE TARIFF.

THE HIGH PRODUCTIVENESS OF AMERICAN LABOR.

Republican Proof that the Republican Party's claim that tariffs raise wages is false and a fraud on labor.

No claim is now so persistently made by the Republican Party as the claim that protection makes and maintains a high rate of wages With one of Mr. Porter's census bulletins as authority, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler shows how little protection has raised wages of woolen mill employees. Mr. Wheeler's figures have reference to the census bulletin on woolen manufactures of the United States.

The value at the factory of the goods manufactured is $338,231,109. The cost of manufacturing is classified in the bulletin as follows:

Cost of material (60⅛ per cent.)	$203,085,642
Amount paid for wages (22⅝ per cent.)	76,768,871
Miscellaneous expenses (5⅛ per cent.)	19,547,200
	$299,411,713
Profits (11⅛ per cent.)	$37,819,396

Mr. Porter's notes show that in miscellaneous expenses, repairs, insurances and taxes are included. The value of the product is stated as the value at the factory. This is not the selling price, and on the one hand the profit on sales does not appear, nor on the other hand is there deducted the expense of selling. The capital invested is $296,982,164, and the profits constitute 13¾ per cent. upon this capital. The statement therefore, in Senator Aldrich's speech in reference to the profits of the woolen manufacture in Massachusetts, is certainly not a fair statement of the profit on the business throughout the country, according to the census returns, which are undoubtedly as favorable to the protective argument as they could be made.

The amount paid for wages was divided among 221,037 employees, which amounts to a weekly payment to each of $6.66. Mr. Porter claims in one of his notes that this is not a fair way of estimating wages, because some employees are not employed throughout the year. It is undoubtedly desirable to know the actual rate of wages paid, but the fairest way of considering how the wages paid effect the workman is to consider the average payment for a year, because this is what he has to live on, and his expenses go on throughout the whole fifty-two weeks.

It appears distinctly from this bulletin that the entire amount paid for wages is only 22½ per cent. of the value of the product. The rate of duty on most woolen goods amounts to very nearly 100%, and in many cases to much more than that. Nothing could better show the falsity of the pretense in the Republican platform that the principle on which the present tariff is drawn is to compensate for the difference in wages between competing countries. This difference in wages certainly is much less than the entire amount paid for wages, but even if it were placed on that basis (which is not that of the platform) the average duty on woolen goods should be 22½ per cent. instead of 100 per cent.

An interesting contrast with this condition of the woolen industry is shown by the census bulletin for the manufacturing industries in St. Louis. The larger part of these are industries that are not affected by the tariff (except injuriously), and the average rate of wages per week to each person employed in them is $10.92. The value at the factory of the products of this one city was in 1890 $298,714,317; nearly two-thirds that of all the woolen mills in the whole country. The injustice and folly of the attempt to benefit the few producers of woolen goods by taxing the multitude who use them is conspicuous.

The following from Mr. Porter's Census Bulletin, No. 156, shows that the wage-earner to make a dollar in the New England iron and steel manufacture must now produce half as much again as he had to produce in 1880:

	1880.	1890.
Number of establishments	61	85
Number of workmen	8,654	6,645
Wages paid	$3,357,911 00	$3,224,318 00
Value of product	14,558,687 00	15,105,441 00
Cost of material	9,518,570 00	9,296,050 00
Product per workman	1,683 00	2,273 00
Product per $1 wages	4 33	4 68

In brief summary, the number of workmen has decreased, the total amount of wages paid has decreased, the yearly product of each workman has increased, and what he must produce to earn a dollar has been increased.

The recent arbitrary reduction of wages by the Carnegie Iron Company and the terrible riots and slaughter at Homestead form convincing and bloody corroboration of the statement that protection, while enabling the manufacturer to exact tribute from the people at large, does not enable the workingman to exact or obtain higher wages than he is enabled to obtain by the law of supply and demand. Republican denials of this unchangeable law lead Protectionists into all manner of absurdities. Ex-Congressman R. G. Horr, in his tariff articles for the *New York Tribune*, endeavored to explain why the wage earner is benefited by a tariff system which makes his employer richer by decreasing compe-

tition with his products, while labor is reduced in price by free importation of it.

Mr. Horr admits that the labor market is governed by the law of supply and demand and that the statutes cannot fix a price for it. If they cannot do that, they cannot determine the price of goods. If the tariff does not increase the price of wages, then its advocates have deceived the wage earners.

What Makes Wages High?

Of course, the whole claim that protection does or can raise wages, is false and fraudulent. There is free trade in labor; the rate of wages depends entirely upon supply and demand, and the extent to which productive land is open to occupation. Wages are higher in the United States than in the densely populated kingdoms of Europe. Why? On account of high tariff taxes? No, rather in spite of them. The United States has 32.7 acres per head of the entire population; in England, Germany, France, Italy, Holland and Belgium the average is only 2.8 acres for each person. In Europe the number of people is so great that competition for employment is necessarily very sharp; this reduces wages to the lowest possible figure. That is why there is a great stream of European laborers coming to our shores every year. Here there is more room, and a man can set up on a farm rather than work in a mill at starvation wages. For this reason the competition in the labor market is less severe with us than in Europe, and wages have not yet been forced down to so low a figure as the European level.

It is mainly on account of our 32.7 acres for each person that we have higher wages than Europe. Protection has nothing to do with the general average of wages with us. It is well known that the general average of wages in our protected industries is lower than in the non-protected industries.

A well known writer exposed this fraudulent "High tariffs—High wages," claim of Protectionists in the following brief paragraph:

"Our wages are higher than wages anywhere else not on account of protection, but on account of our cheap land and the greater productiveness of our labor. Whatever may be the cause of our higher wages, however, it is only the removal of that cause that makes them fall. While that cause remains nothing can reduce them. Therefore unless it is the cause of our higher wages the abolition of protection cannot reduce them to the foreign level. Now, protection cannot be the cause, or higher protection would make higher wages. It cannot be the cause, or wages would have been lower in this country than in foreign countries when our tariffs were lower and foreign tariffs were higher. It cannot be the cause, or wages would have been lower during our free trade period than they were in preceding protection periods. It cannot be the cause, or Republicans would not be satisfied with enough protection to equalize differences in wages; their exceeding great love for American workingmen would prompt them to demand enough to make workingmen as rich as their protected employers. And since protection is not the cause of high wages, the abandonment of protection cannot reduce wages. After its abandonment, the true cause of our high wages, cheaper agricultural land and greater productiveness of labor, would still remain."

"When two employers run after one workman wages are high; when two workman run after one employer wages are low."

There was a time when the Republican party admitted this law of supply and demand. On June 2, 1864, Mr. Morrill of Vermont said:

"The withdrawal of the large number of men in the field from industrial pursuits leaves a paucity of numbers at home, thereby advancing wages."

American and European Labor Compared.

American Labor may be Higher by the Day, but it is Cheaper than European Labor Measured by Work Performed.

The American workman may earn more money in a given period, but does he earn more than the foreign workman considered with regard to the result of his labor? He does not, as protectionists have officially shown.

Mr. Charles S. Hill, a pronounced protectionist statistician in the State Department at Washington, made an argument before the Tariff Commission of 1883, in which he showed that our manufacturing product in 1882 was $8,000,000,000, made by 5,250,000 hands, and that for the same time the total product of England was $4,000,000,000, made by 5,140,200 hands. Then he added this remarkable conclusion:

"Here is the positive proof that American mechanics in the aggregate accomplish exactly double the result of the same number of British mechanics. They are, therefore, very justly paid double in wages."

But they are not "paid double in wages." Mr. Blaine made that sufficiently plain when he was Secretary of State under Garfield. Here is an extract from one of his reports:

"The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows per week: Spinners, English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers, English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of ten per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employees in the Massachusetts mills are as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of ten per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of ten per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are fifty-six, in the Massachusetts sixty per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually sixty-six to sixty-nine per week. Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to me to be proven by official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton goods trade of the world."

In the two prime factors which may be said to form the basis of the cotton manufacturing industry, namely, raw material and labor—we therefore hold an advantage over England in the first, and stand upon an equality with her in the second.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Labor Commissioner, can scarcely be accused of unfairness toward protectionists, yet facts obtained under Mr. Wright's direction show that it virtually costs less for labor, on an average, to convert steel bars into rails in the United States than in England, and considerably less than on the continent of Europe. The average for the two American establishments reported is $1.41 per ton; for the three English establishments, $1.88; for eight establishments on the continent, $2.45. As some of the American mills refused to give information, it is highly probable that the true American labor cost is less than $1.41.

In his report on the cost of production of pig-iron, Labor Commissioner Wright shows that while the labor cost is greater in the United States than in Europe, it is only slightly so.

The figures given by Colonel Wright were taken in every case from the books of the manufacturers and mine operators.

The report contains information about 618 establishments in this country and in Europe which are engaged in the various forms of iron and steel manufacture, and it required the labor of three years to collect the information embraced in it.

The cost of making pig-iron is examined in detail in 118 separate establishments. In the following table the cost of materials, of labor, and the total cost of making one ton of pig-iron in eleven establishments in Europe and eleven in the United States is given. The cost of materials includes, of course, all the iron ore, coke, coal and limestone as laid down at the furnace; and the column headed "labor" gives simply the cost of converting the ore into pig-iron. The establishments here quoted represent fairly the highest, lowest, and average cost in each case.

Locality.	Cost of Materials.	Labor.	Total Cost.
Northern States	$17.728	$3.499	$23 165
"	13.223	1.194	15.809
"	11.991	.975	13.584
"	11.668	1.864	13.422
"	13.267	2.135	15.278
"	11.147	1.166	12.820
Southern States	7.757	1.461	10.379
"	7.178	1.816	9.634
"	7.902	2.608	10.267
"	8.577	1.218	10.822
"	8.164	.595	9.623
Great Britain	9.230	.601	10.290
"	9.308	.743	10.729
"	6.454	.618	7.677
"	9.529	.769	10.493
Europe	9.559	.418	10.194
"	12.298	.912	13.484
"	14.319	.719	15.075
"	6.785	.470	7.786
"	9.385	1.414	13.070
"	9.061	.711	11.107
"	7.397	.755	8.165

The average cost of turning out pig iron at eleven American furnaces is $13.10 a ton; in the eleven European establishments the cost is $10.74 or a difference of $2.36. And this $2.36 is the basis for all the protectionist rant and twaddle about the small labor cost in the production of European iron. To cover that slight difference—less than the present freight rates from Liverpool to New York—protectionist law-makers impose a duty of $6.72 a ton on foreign pig iron.

Another examination shows the entire labor cost in producing a ton of Bessemer pig iron, including the labor of mining and transporting the materials to the furnace. In five Bessemer establishments in the United States the average labor cost of a ton of pig iron is $6.08. In one of these, however, the labor cost was abnormally high, being $9.44. Omitting this one, the average of the other four was $5.24 a ton. In the summaries of the report only one English establishment is given at which Bessemer pig iron is made. In this one the total labor cost was $3.32 a ton, or only $1.92 a ton lower than in the four American establishments. It is a significant fact that these four American furnaces charge on an average $3.70 a ton more for Bessemer pig iron than it costs to produce it, while the English establishment contents itself with a profit of $1.78. The tariff of $6.72 a ton enables the four American producers to net $1.97 a ton more on their iron than the Englishman gets.

Equally significant are the figures of cost in the production of steel rails. Mr. Wright finds the following to be the average labor cost of producing a ton of steel rails in the United States:

	Labor cost.
Production 4,137 pounds ore	$2.142
Production 1,497 pounds limestone	.205
Production 4,808 pounds coal	1.978
Conversion above coal into 3,532 pounds coke	.598
Conversion above materials into 2,619 pounds pig iron	1.576
Conversion into 2,458 pounds steel ingots	1.688
Fuel used in ingot mill, 3,220 pounds coal	.912
Conversion into 2,210 pounds steel rails	1.540
Fuel used in rail mill, 2,340 pounds coal	.962
Total	$11.597

Add, as in the case of pig iron, 60½ cents for officials and clerks, we find the total labor cost, through all the processes, of producing one ton of steel rails to be $12.202, or $1.14 less than the duty on steel rails.

Entitled to almost equal weight with these official reports is the statement made at a meeting of hardware merchants in New York by Mr. J. B. Sargent, one of the largest manufacturers of hardware in the United States:

"In agricultural tools and implements, we take half the trade of the foreign countries outside of Europe, and in all kinds of edge tools we take half the trade of South America and Asia. With the manufacturers of this country in their present condition, with our machinery, with our unrivaled help, with our skilled mechanics, there is no reason why we should not only hold our own in our own country, but take a large part of the trade of all the world. Although our wages in this country—the earnings of men per day—are very much more than any other country, and especially of the countries of the con-

tinent, who are our competitors, and although they earn so much more per day, still their labor to the manufacturer is *cheaper* than that of laborers in other countries. In other words, the labor cost of almost any article of American hardware manufacture is *less* than the labor cost of the same article in any other country.

Facts presented in Ex. U. S. Consul Schoenhof's "Economy of High Wages" corroborate the statements of Secretaries Blaine and Evarts that the American workman is more effective than the European, and that though he receives more wages per week he receives less per *work*. Mr. Schoenhof also shows that the rule "Labor in unprotected industries is higher than labor in protected industries" is as true in Europe as America. Following is a quotation on this point:

"For the building trades I take the wages for the Hansea towns, where the highest rates are paid. For England I take the wage rates for Manchester, Liverpool, and London from the lists prepared by the Trade Unions' Committee for the Royal Commission on Trade Depression. For America I take the rates ruling in New York City.

"The wages, reduced to the hour, compare as follows:

	Germany.	England.	America.
	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
Bricklayers (34.7 pfg.)	8½	16	45
Stonemasons	8½	16 to 18	45
Carpenters (30 pfg.)	7½	16	30 to 35

"The percentage of wages of England over Germany is a round 100 per cent.; of America over England, 180 per cent., and over Germany, 490 per cent. and 330 per cent., respectively.

"In the cotton goods industry I take the wages of spinners and reduce them also to the hour, so as to bring them to a common basis.

"These wages are taken from mills which I visited, and they were given me by the parties paying, and coroborated by those receiving them.

	Rhenish Germany and Switzerland.	Manchester.	Lowell.
	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
Mule spinners (men)	5.2 to 6	14 to 17	15 to 16
Ring spinners (women)	4.3 to 5.2	6	8.4

"The English and American mule spinners stand about on a par, while they earn from 165 to 200 per cent. more than Swiss or German spinners. The American spinner-girl earns 70 per cent. more than the Swiss or German, and 40 per cent. more than the English girl. But this is balanced by handling eight sides with 960 spindles, against four sides with 576 spindles in England. The American spinner gets less pay per work than the English, Swiss or German.

"Our labor, being machine labor, is generally cheaper than European labor, which is to a large extent hand labor or inferior machine labor or unproductive

underfed labor, as compared with higher productive American labor. What our labor suffers from is the high cost of taxed materials. Free raw materials and a higher technical and artistic development would result in lasting benefits to our manufacturing industries, which periodic additions to already extreme tariff rates can never do. They increase the cost of production in spite of our cheap labor, and continue the congested condition so frequently complained of by manufacturers.

"Taking the data from the census of 1890 for the mining industries of Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, we find the products, value, and wages as follows (tons at 2,000 lbs.):

	Annual Product.	Wages per Ton.	Value at Mine.
Alabama	3,378,000	$0 94	$1 10
Tennessee	1,925,000	92	1 21
Kentucky	2,899,000	70	99
West Virginia	6,231,000	60	88
Pennsylvania	36,174,000	58	77
Ohio	9,970,000	69	94
Illinois	12,104,000	69	97

As to the earnings, we cannot take the yearly earnings as a criterion of daily wages. The days of employment in the year, varying so much in the different States, are at hand only for five of these States. But taking these and putting Kentucky and Tennessee for the Southern, and the remaining States for the North we find the average day rate for

	Miners.	Laborers.	Wages Paid per Ton.
Tennessee	$1 98	$1 26	$0 92
Kentucky	1 75	1 56	70
West Virginia	1 86	1 47	60
Ohio	2 01	1 77	69
Illinois	1 96	1 63	69

"The labor cost per ton, it will be seen, is lowest where the average of day wages is highest."

From the following summary, given in Mr. Schoenhof's "Economy of High Wages," it will be seen that with few exceptions American labor is the cheapest labor in the world:

COST OF LABOR IN THE LEADING ARTICLES OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

	America.	England.	Other Countries.
	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
Brown Stoneware:			
Butter Pots—½ gallon, per 100	71.3	139	
" 1 " "	109	158	
" 2 " "	163	293	
" 3 " "	245	450	
" 5 " "	558	780	
" 6 " "	666	1,200	
Flint Glass:			
Bottles—16-ounce, per 100	88	91	
" 2 " "	42	58	
Decanters, 1 quart "	375	450	
Pitchers, 1 quart "	400	475	
Goblets "	130	127	
Tumblers "	96	80	
Finger bowls "	125	143	
Bituminous coal, gross ton	86 *	79 †	79 to 80 ‡ (Ger.)
" " (Penn. 1880)	64	..	
" " (Connellsville)	33	(Durham) 51	
Coke-making " "	39	" 24	
Iron ore " (Lake Sup.)	119	(Staffordshire) 145	
Cheaper ores " (Cumberland)	19	(Cleveland) 20	
Pig iron " (Eastern Pa.)	125	(Middlesboro') 78 to 96	
" " (Pittsburgh)	158	..	
Bessemer steel rails " (Eastern Pa.)	250 to 304	(Middlesboro') 397	
Cotton yarn, No. 20, per 100 pounds	45	50	
" No. 40, " "	96	100	
Weaving print cloths " yards	49	48 to 51	
4-4 Sheeting " "	45	50	
Worsted yarn, 2-40 " pounds	1,153	950	
6-4 Worsted Cloth:			
Weaving, per yard	24.4	10.8	
Dyeing and finishing, per yard	4.1	4.7	
6-4 Woolen Dress Goods:			
Yarn, pound	4.8	4	
Weaving, pound	9.6	7.4	
Finishing, "	2.6	4	
6-4 Cheviot yarn, pound	3.9	4	
Weaving	7	4.4	
Carpets, yard	4 to 5.25	4.5	
Silk throwing, pound	33 to 37½	40	
Weaving wages, yard	7	8.9 §	6 (Ger.)
Total, yard	18	18.9 §	15.25 (Lyons.)
Ladies' boots, pair	85	64	57 to 61 (Ger.) 71 (Austria.)

Mr. Schoenhof shows that in the highly protected countries of Europe cotton-mill employees must work from one and a half to four and a half times as long as the unprotected English cotton-mill employees, in order to earn the same amount of money. He says:

"If the so-called cheap labor of Europe were to procure the same conveniences and commodities enjoyed by the English man and woman, and if its rate of pay were to remain the same as at present, the protected European

* General for U. S. Census, 1880.
† North Staffordshire.
‡ Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia.
§ Hand-looms, Zürich.

cotton-mill employees would have to work the following numbers of hours against England's standard of nine hours. The wages of men and women are included in the table:

	Average Day Wages. Cents.	Present Hours.	Necessary Hours.
Germany	48 to 60	11	15¾ to 19¼
Switzerland	54	11	18
France	54	12	19¼
Western Bohemia	36	12¼	20
Eastern Bohemia	26	12½	41¼
England	86	9	9

Does Protection Lower Prices?

The Republican party, ignoring this country's vast natural resources, ignoring the benefits resulting from new inventions, increased knowledge, and improved facilities for production, claims that all the benefits Americans enjoy are due to high tariffs. Hardly less extravagant than this claim is that now made by the Republican party that the McKinley bill has made prices low.

The Republican party now makes this claim, notwithstanding the avowed object of the McKinley bill was to increase prices, Mr. McKinley in defending his bill declaring that cheap goods mean cheap men and that the people do not want legislation that will result in lower prices. Even President Harrison took this view, saying, that a cheap coat means a cheap man. The sub-committee on the tariff of the Senate Committee on Finance, Mr. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, Chairman, after an investigation extending over twenty-four months, announced that the cost of living had decreased $\frac{44}{100}$ of one cent, while wages increased in consequence of the McKinley bill. This statement is more ingenious than truthful. The cost of living may have been $\frac{44}{100}$ of one per cent. less in September, 1891, than in June, 1889, bu. it does not follow that after the passage of the McKinley bill there was a steady and continuous decline. On the contrary, there was an immediate increase in the cost of living; and the subsequent decrease was smaller in amount and longer in coming than would have been the case but for the abnormally high tariff. In the eighteen months prior to June 1, 1889, prices of commodities declined 14 per cent. in the twenty-four months following June 1, 1889, during the McKinley bill regime the decline was only $\frac{44}{100}$ of one per cent. Senator Carlisle shows that before even that small decline took place the American people had been forced to pay hundreds of millions of dollars more than they would have paid but for the McKinley bill. Mr. Carlisle first shows the purpose of the McKinley bill.

> At last it appears to be admitted by the friends of the protective system, that cheap commodities for the use of the people are beneficial, and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Aldrich], speaking here three days ago as the chosen champion of that system, bases his defense of the tariff act of 1890 almost solely upon the ground that it has reduced prices and enlarged the foreign commerce of the country.
>
> That was not the purpose of the authors and supporters of that law at the time it passed Congress, as is conclusively shown by the report which was made to the House of Representa-

tives when the bill was presented to that body. In that report Mr. McKinley, speaking for himself and all the Republican members of the committee, said:

We have not been so much concerned about the prices of the articles we consume as we have been to encourage a system of home production which shall give fair remuneration to domestic producers and fair wages to American workmen, and by increased production and home competition insure fair prices to consumers.

And again the report says:

Your committee have not sought by the proposed legislation to further cut down prices at the expense of our own property, but to provide with certainty against that increasing competition from other countries whose conditions our people are unwilling to adopt. We have not believed that our people, already suffering from low prices, can or will be satisfied with legislation which will result in lower prices.

Here is a clear and emphatic declaration by the authors of the measure, that it was not intended to reduce prices, that it would not in fact reduce prices, and that the people would not be satisfied with any legislation that would produce that result; and yet the Senator from Rhode Island, who was one of the most active and able supporters of that bill, now comes and declares to the country that it has had just exactly the effect which its authors and supporters said it was not intended to have, and with which they said the people would be dissatisfied. But the Senator does not venture to tell us that the people are dissatisfied with it because it reduces prices. On the contrary, while he admits that the people were very much dissatisfied with it in 1890, he insists, to use his own words, that they were "deceived by misrepresentation" and induced to believe that it had increased prices, which, as I have shown, was the very thing that its authors and supporters intended it to accomplish.

The theory that high prices of commodities are beneficial to the community at large and that the McKinley law would increase them, was abandoned by the advocates of that measure immediately after its passage, and in every part of the country they faced about and either denied that higher prices in fact prevailed, or contended that they were not produced by the tariff act. The people, however, knew better from personal experience and observation in their daily transactions, and in November, 1890, the authors of that tariff act were swept from the House of Representatives by a majority of more than 300,000 votes. Never in the history of the country has there been such a storm of popular indignation against any single act of legislation as that which overwhelmed the advocates of this measure in 1890; and as a result we now have the Senator from Rhode Island and all the other friends of the protective system who have recently spoken upon the subject, confessing that high prices are not beneficial to the people and that the original and avowed purposes of the act was wrong; in other words, they now contend that the act has been a success solely because it failed to accomplish what it was intended to accomplish.

After stating the plan upon which the investigation was conducted by Senator Aldrich and the committee, Senator Carlisle continues:

"I understand the Senator from Rhode Island to state four propositions: First, that the prices of commodities declined in the United States during the period covered by the investigation to such an extent, according to his calculation, as to make a saving to the people of the United States of $895,000,000 per annum; second, that the rates of wages increased in the United States during the period covered by the investigation; third, that the cost of living in England increased 1.90 per cent. during the period covered by the investigation; and fourth, that this decline in the prices of commodities and increase in the rate of wages in the United States were the result of the Republican policy of protection.

PRICES ON ONE DAY NOT A FAIR BASIS FOR COMPARISON.

On a single day after the passage of the McKinley bill, and during the period covered by the investigation, the retail prices of the two hundred and fifteen articles selected by the committee, taking them all together and giving to each one the same importance, were sixty-four hundredths of 1 per cent. lower than they were at the beginning of the period, and on the same day, which was the last day included in the investigation, the cost of living in the United States, giving to each article its relative importance as an element in expenditures for consumption, had decreased forty-four hundredths of 1 per cent. from the rate prevailing at the

beginning of the investigation; that is, the cost of living, including rent, which was not investigated by the committee at all, had been reduced forty-four hundredths of 1 per cent. below what it was during the first three months of the investigation. But that single day has been separated by the Senator from Rhode Island from all the other days embraced in the twenty-eight months, and taken as a basis of all the tables presented and statements made by him, as if it were a fair representative of the whole period.

The investigation began on the 1st day of June, 1889, and continued month by month in seventy different cities in the United States until the 1st day of September, 1891, embracing a period of twenty-eight months. The prices of these two hundred and fifteen articles for the first three months at these seventy different places, and at quite a number of establishments in each place, were taken as the basis of the investigation; that is to say, the average prices which prevailed during the months of June, July, and August, 1889, on all the articles were taken as the unit of price, each unit or index of price being represented by 100, and as the prices subsequently rose or fell the fact was noted and the percentage of rise or fall was recorded in the tables. Now, I submit to the Senate and to the country that no just or valuable conclusion for any purpose whatever can be drawn from calculations based upon prices which prevailed on one single day during those twenty-eight months, that day being, as I have said, the last one on which an investigation was made.

Some Statements Corrected.

At this point, in order to dispose of one or two of the minor propositions made by the Senator from Rhode Island, I will say that, notwithstanding his statement that the committee found that the cost of living had increased in England 1.90 per cent., the committee actually made no investigation whatever concerning the cost of living in that country, and has made no report on that subject. It caused the retail price of a certain list of articles to be taken in England on the 1st day of June, 1889, and on the 1st day of September, 1891, two days only, but it caused no investigation to be made to determine in what proportion these articles entered into the consumption of the people, and therefore made no attempt to secure a basis from which it could ascertain whether the cost of living had increased or diminished in that country. The articles were not all the same that were selected in the United States, and even if they had been it is well known that the people of different countries do not consume the various articles in the same relative proportions to each other.

In the second place, I desire to say that the statement made by the Senator from Rhode Island that prices were found to have declined in three cities in the United States, Fall River, Chicago and Dubuque, in May, 1892, may or may not be correct, because the committee, so far as I know, made no investigation at that date. It came to my knowledge for the first time when I saw this paper in print that somebody had gone to Fall River, Chicago and Dubuque, and procured the prices prevailing in those three cities on the 1st day of May, 1892; but they constitute no part of the basis of any calculations or comparative tables contained in the report.

Propositions Established by the Report.

I propose to show that the prices of commodities in the United States, whether considered by wholesale or by retail, were enormously increased by the passage of the McKinley Act and the agitation which preceded it, and that the cost of living in the United States, giving to each one of these articles its proper degree of importance in expenditures for consumption, was increased during the period covered by this investigation more than $285,000,000, and that over $155,000,000 of that increase occurred after the passage of the act of 1890.

A very large proportion of the increase in prices of manufactured articles and in the cost of living which occurred before the passage of that act was on account of the fact that it was pending in Congress with an almost absolute knowledge on the part of the producers of protected articles everywhere that it would be passed and become a law.

I propose to show that the rates of wages in fifteen substantially unprotected industries in this country, selected by the committee, were increased during the period covered by the investigation, and that during the same period the rates of wages in fifteen protected industries in the United States, also selected by the committee, fell, and that the fall was greater after the passage of the McKinley bill than it was during the whole period preceding its passage.

Senator Carlisle then proceeded to show, by the very figures provided by the Senate Committee, that there had been an increase in retail prices after the passage of the McKinley bill:

"The group of cloths and clothing, unanimously selected by the committee to represent the expenditures of the people in the purchase of such articles, contained sixty-one different kinds of goods, and between the 1st day of May, 1890, and the 1st day of July, 1890—the bill having passed the House in the meantime—the retail prices of twenty of these articles were increased, and within sixty days after the bill passed the Senate and received the approval of the President, which was October 1, 1890, the prices of forty-three of these articles—or more than two-thirds—were increased; that is, on the 1st day of December, 1890, they were higher than they were on the 1st day of October, notwithstanding many of them, in anticipation of the passage of the bill by the Senate, were considerably higher on the 1st of October than they were in July. Of the prices in this group which changed at all, between October 1 and December 1, 1890, 78 per cent. increased."

Senator Carlisle then shows that even the very small increase in wages claimed by the protectionists had been in fifteen selected industries, such as carpenters, bricklayers, etc., not protected and incapable of being protected by tariffs.

This whole claim of the Republican party, that to high tariffs are due all our blessings, including lowering of prices, was exposed by Hon. F. E. White, Representative from Iowa, on June 15, 1892.

Had Senator Aldrich read Mr. White's speech he would not have labored so hard and in the sequel so unsuccessfully to prove that the necessaries of life had decreased in cost under the McKinley act sixty-four hundredths of one per cent. and that this decrease was due to that act.

That this cheapening of articles did not begin with or result from the McKinley bill Mr. White very aptly shows:

The stubborn fact, the historic truth, stares every intelligent man in the face that everything made by human hands or that is in any sense the result of human skill has been getting constantly cheaper, not only since the Republican party has been in power, but for the last thousand years and more; and has been getting cheaper not only in this country, but in every other—in countries where high tariffs are maintained, and in others where free trade prevails, and notably so in England, where the protected principle is entirely repudiated.

The reason for this cheapened production has seldom been stated more clearly and satisfactorily than in this extract:

"What is, then, the true, active cause of this constantly lowering price-list of manufactures? Why, sir, it is a constantly improving industrial condition caused primarily by mechanical inventions, scientific discoveries and the promotion of general knowledge; it is a higher order of human ingenuity and industry, a more practical industrial education, all resulting in superior methods of manufacture. The slow, clumsy ways of our forefathers have given way to the improved methods of a more mechanical age."

We are constantly discovering and harnessing to our use new forces of nature, are continually utilizing new ideas and better methods, and the inevitable result is, the civilized world over, cheaper food, cheaper goods, cheaper comforts. Let me tell you who it is that is responsible for this universal blessing of lower prices, who are public benefactors, and who are entitled to our everlasting gratitude. It is not McKinley, nor the law that unfortunately bears his name; neither is it any other Republican statesman or politician; it is not the Republican party, but it is the mechanic who has the mental capacity to evolve an idea—an idea which materializes in the shape of a new machine, or in an improvement upon an old one; it is the machinist, standing ready with his skill to utilize the mechanical force of the idea thus evolved; it is the chemist who sits in his laboratory working with the zeal of an enthusiast both night and day in order that he may discover some hidden force of nature, some new combination of materials or substances, some new process that will be a more powerful factor in the industrial world; it is the scientist and the philosopher, who, taking for their text the gospel of eternal

truth as it stands revealed in the geological strata and the physical constitution of the universe, are constantly dragging to the light of day better light and more knowledge.

When, then, this new light and knowledge has been brought to the point of availability, when these new machines have been invented and the old ones improved, when all these new forces, combinations and processes have been brought to the point of practical utility, they are given to the world, they become the world's property. That is what has enabled us to make such wonderful progress. That is the secret of our marvelous success. That is what has enabled us to multiply a hundred and in some instances a thousand fold our mechanical power and hence our productive capacity. The reason things sell lower than formerly is because they are made cheaper, and they are made cheaper because of better, superior methods and processes employed in their manufacture.

Without intending to be the least irreverent, I want to say that when this earth was created the Creator therof did not have the Republican platform to guide him or he would have made it altogether different. He should so have arranged it (with the guidance of the platform) that every country, whether large or small, could be perfectly independent, self-sustaining, and thus would we all have become rich. But we find the world modeled upon a different plan. A dependency one upon the other and an interdependency existing among all is the plan that was adopted. We find, for instance, that countries like the greater part of Russia, a large part of Canada, Minnesota, Wisconsin and the Dakotas have received a soil and a climate admirably suited for the raising of wheat, and a large surplus of this valuable cereal is the result of these natural conditions.

When we go south of this wheat belt into Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, we find the soil and climate exactly suited to the raising of those grasses and grains which enable us to make cheap meat. A surplus of meat products is here the result of natural conditions. But while we have meat in abundance and to the north of us they have wheat in superabundance, neither locality is able to raise a pound of cotton, except under highly artificial conditions, which from an economic standpoint would be out of the question. To the south of us, however, the people are enabled, primarily because of soil and climate, to raise a large part of the world's supply of cotton.

Still further south the people, because of natural conditions, are enabled to raise rice, sugar-cane and all the semi-topical fruits. Then when we have the confines of our own country and look across thousands of miles of an expanse of ocean into the Flowery Kingdom, we find that the people of China, because of natural conditions, are enabled to enrich the world's commerce with their tea and silks and other remarkable productions.

When you go to Brazil the same holds true of coffee, while still other parts of the earth yield up to the world's commerce their spices, their fruits, their oils, their woods and their drugs, which can grow and mature only under the fierce rays of a tropical sun. Now, when you have thus looked around about you and have taken a hasty and very incomplete inventory of all these natural blessings, and when you may discern in the physical configuration of the globe how the oceans and the rivers are so arranged as to permit an easy exchange of all these various products and commodities, these natural blessings, between different and distant countries—then when, last of all, you take into consideration men's appetites, their wants and their necessities, wherever they may be located, whether north or south, or in intermediate regions—when you have done all that, then let me tell you that for the philosophic mind, for the mind that is free from party prejudice, for the mind that is determined to seek after the truth, and willing to embrace it when discovered—for such a mind there is but one conclusion to reach, and that is that when God Almighty created this earth he created it in such a way and fashioned it in such a shape, and he made men's conditions such as not only permit but actually to compel men and nations to trade with one another.

TARIFF AND RAW MATERIALS.

ARTICLES THAT ARE TAXED TO THE DETRIMENT OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.

In 1833, Henry Clay said:

"The fourth mode in which protection can be afforded to domestic industry is to admit free of duty every article which aided the operations of the manufacturers."

Though fond of quoting Clay as a protectionist, the Republican party of to-day is in as little accord with the views held by Clay as with those held by Garfield. Raw materials are heavily taxed. Why is it our trade with the West Indies and South America is largely via Europe? Why not trade direct? It is because the tariff duty on raw materials prevents our manufacturers from competing in many kinds of goods in foreign markets.

The Tariff and Wool.

The blighting effect of a tariff on raw materials is perhaps most strikingly apparent in the case of wool; for in that case not only is the manufacturer heavily handicapped, but the sheep farmer, for whose benefit the tax is imposed, so far from deriving a benefit is actually injured. At first glance it may seem odd that the manufacturer is injured by the wool tariff if it be true that the tariff lowers the price of wool; such, however, is the fact and its explanation, quite simple on investigation, may be left for Republicans to make. William Harney, a Republican and Secretary of the Golden Gate Woolen Manufacturing Company of San Francisco, made the following statement in the San Francisco *Alta California*:

I am an avowed protectionist and always have been. In no sense can I be classed as a free-trader. I look upon this question of the wool tariff from the standpoint of years of experience in the manufacture of woolen fabrics, and I can find no reasonable ground on which to base the assertion that the interests of manufacturer and wool-grower clash on the tariff question so far as this matter is concerned. As I look at it their interests are identical and it is not a matter in which politics, so-called, should cut any figure. I think I can show you that my position is eminently correct. This country does not produce the fine quality of wool that we import from Australia. And to make a certain line of goods we must have some of that wool, tariff or no tariff. I can see no reason why duty should be imposed on a raw material our country does not produce.

To show how the tariff on wool operates against the manufacturer, and domestic wool-grower as well, just for a moment consider these figures. The best Australian wool costs us down there in the colonies say 14 pence per pound; that is about 28 cents of our money. Now, to this must be added, for freight, brokerage and similar expenses, from 3 to 4 cents. Say 4 cents. That brings the cost of the wool up to 32 cents a pound. The wool under the scouring will shrink anywhere from 65 to 70 per cent. Let us say 68 per cent., that would bring the cost of the wool up to $1 per pound, and to this must be added 10 cents per pound duty, making a total of $1.10. Supposing the wool cost us 30 cents, and the shrinkage was 68 per cent., then, with the duty added, the total cost would foot up to $1.06 per pound. These figures are liable to fluctuation, of course, according to natural laws of trade; but these fluctuations, however great, would not materially affect the average as already stated by me. You can easily understand that with such costly crude material we cannot produce a manufactured article to compete with the European or foreign production.

The best grades of our domestic wool come from Southern Oregon, Honey Lake Valley and Mendocino County, and constitute the fall clip. This wool costs us, ready for use, about fifty-eight cents per pound, as a general average against the Australian wool of ninety-six cents and one dollar per pound without the duty. By this you see the domestic wool can be sold, and is sold, far below the price commanded by the Australian product.

I contend that if the duty on wool were removed, it would put the American manufacturer on an equality with the foreign manufacturers, because the duty, as it now stands, hampers the American manufacturers in exactly the same ratio that the low cost of labor and motive power abroad favors the foreign manufacturer. In other words, if the duty on wool were removed to-morrow, it would operate to the American manufacturer as an advantage quite, if not more than, offsetting the foreign manufacturers' advantage in the cost of labor and motive power. When I make that assertion I, of course, suppose that the duty will not be removed from the manufactured article. I hold that the wool-grower is not protected by the tax on the raw wool, but by the tax on the importation of the manufactured article.

I have already shown you how necessary it is for us to have the best Australian grades of wool to manufacture superior fabrics. The tariff prevents us going into an extensive manufacture of cassimeres and diagonals. Could we get the wool minus the duty, and have the tax remain on the imported manufactured articles, we could compete with and drive out foreign product. This we could do, for we would blend the Australian wool with the home product in the proportion of about one part Australian wool to two parts home wool. This would result in an immense consumption of the domestic wool, far greater than at present, and would prove a powerful stimulus to the wool-growing industry of America. We have all the machinery in this country and the skill to make cloths as good as the best, but our energies are crippled and our enterprise dwarfed by the unnecessary cost of the raw material. Could we go ahead and work our mills to their best advantage, millions of dollars would annually find their way into the pockets of our wage-workers that now either remain idle or are disbursed in the support of foreign industries. I think the consumer would equally benefit with the producer.

The wool-grower may advance as an argument the assertion that if the tariff on wool was removed the market would be flooded with the low grade foreign wools. This assertion has no weight when you consider a moment the relative cost of the low grade foreign and low grade domestic wool. The lowest grade wools in Australia cost there say 8 pence or 16 cents per pound, add three cents for freight and brokerage, and the cost is nineteen cents. Ten cents per pound for duty increases their value to twenty-nine cents. Say the shrinkage is sixty per cent., and we find the total cost is no less than 72½ cents per pound. Our own low grade wools cost us, ready for use, anywhere from forty-two to forty-five cents per pound, so that you can see that if the duty was removed the cost of the foreign article would still be far in excess of the home product.

If the door was thrown wide open to-morrow by the abolition of the duty, we would not be able to get very much more of the foreign wool than we do now, the supply being less than what the world demands; but at the same time we would use an enormously increased quantity of the domestic wool. There is nothing in the proposition, to remove the tariff on wool to prompt the wool-grower to feel that he is at any hazard.

I think that in time we may be able to raise as good wool in this country as can be imported, but at present such is not the case. In the colonies great care is taken to keep the ranges clean, the grass is of good quality and the sheep are sheared but once a year. Climate and other conditions have marked effect on the quality of the wool.

In one of his reports, while Secretary of the Treasury, the late Daniel Manning used the following very significant language: "Any tax on the raw wool will always make domestic wool-raising a bad business, for in our dry climate some varieties of wool required in the manufacture of fine fabrics are not possible."

Other evidence as to the blighting effect of the tariff on wool-growing is contained in the following extract from Hon. John De Witt Warner's speech in the House of Representatives, March 2, 1892.

Mr. Warner's speech is a terse statement of the whole question of the tariff and wool.

When the tariff of 1867 became a law, wool was higher than it has ever been since, and under the fostering care of high protection the price of wool has gone down, down, down, until from being one of the leading and most profitable industries of the country, that of wool-growing has become one that every prudent man avoids. The fact was recognized by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], when he made his famous speech in 1883. He pointed to the tariff on wool as a striking example of the benefits of protection, and then explained how what had already reduced the price of wool might be applied to other industries. Here is what he says:

In 1867 the price of wool was 51 cents; in 1870, 46 cents; in 1878, which was an abnormal year, 40 cents per pound; this was the result of the policy of protecting the wool-grower, as it is in all industries, to gradually reduce the price. Under the operation of the existing law (the tariff of 1867) the price of wool has gradually gone down.

It might be well to refer to that of another gentleman, equally orthodox and equally indisputably a representative of the protection sentiment, the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], who took occasion, in a summary noting the effect of this decrease in the price of wool, to explain its reasons.

I allude to the wool tariff, a law the effect of which has been materially to injure the sheep husbandry of this country. In a single county in the State of Iowa, between 1867 and 1869, the number of sheep was reduced from 22,000 to 18,000 in two years; and what is true of other counties in Iowa, and during that time the price of wool has been constantly depreciated.

* * * As the law now is, the tariff upon fine wools of a character not produced in this country is 100 per cent. of their cost. * * * Before the tariff of 1867, our manufacturers of fine goods mixed foreign fine wools with our domestic product, and were thus able to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturers of similar wools. But being prohibited from importing this class of wools, these fine goods cannot now be produced in this country as cheaply as they can be imported. Consequently mills that were formerly engaged in producing these goods have been compelled to abandon business or manufacture the coarser fabrics. If they could afford to manufacture these fine goods, they would make a market, which we do not now have, for our fine wools to be mixed with other fine wools of a different character from abroad. The want of a market, as I understand it, is the reason why our fine wools now command so low a price.

Since the enactment of the high tariff in 1867, the prosperous days of sheep-raising, there have been millions of acres of land opened in the Western States, and millions upon millions of sheep pastured where there had never been one before; and yet the total number of sheep in the whole country, being 39,000,000 in 1867, fell to 35,000,000 in 1873, and only rose to 42,421,000 in 1891.

In the States east of the Mississippi river, which had been the centre of this great and prosperous industry, the slaughter was fearful. Ohio, which in the year 1867 had 7,159,000 sheep, in 1890 had but 3,943,000. Michigan, which in 1867 had 4,000,000 sheep, in 1890 had but 2,240,000. Pennsylvania, which in 1867 had over 3,400,000 sheep, in 1890 had only 943,000; and New York, which in 1867 had above 5,800,000 sheep, had in the year 1890 only 1,548,000.

The same was the case with wool manufacturing.

From the time that manufacture was depressed under the high tariff of 1842, it had been a more and more prosperous industry under the continual lowering of the tariffs which succeeded that tariff. And before the war, under the impetus of free wool, we know that its prosperity was greater than it has ever been since. From the time that the tariff of 1867 was imposed wool manufacturers became less and less prosperous; failure after failure, the closing of one mill after another succeeded, until in the year 1888—though that year was not seriously worse

than those years preceding it—when failures in the business amounted to fifty-seven, involving liabilities of $3,687,000, we were told that such was the result of the scare over the Mills bill.

But the Republican candidate for President was elected, with the result that "confidence" was restored, which "confidence" we were told would set every wheel of industry in motion, especially in wool manufacturing; yet during the year after President Harrison's election the failures in the same business were seventy-two, involving liabilities of over $10,460,000, which shows how much more terrible a thing it is to the wool manufacturers to have "confidence" in a high tariff than it is to be "scared" over the prospect of free wool. Such was the condition of matters when the McKinley bill was enacted in order to help the wool-grower.

The result has been that wool has been lower each year since then than it was at the time that the McKinley bill was enacted, and it is a cent and a half lower to-day than it was at the same date last year. Not merely have wools gone down, down, down in price, but what is more, sheep have been driven to the shambles under the McKinley bill even more than they were driven thither under the tariff which had preceded it.

The minority of the Ways and Means Committee have called attention to the fact that this country, after a fair trial of the McKinley bill, has 1,500,000 more sheep than it had at the time that bill was enacted. That is true, but the minority do not tell you the reason why this country has 1,500,000 more sheep, or in what States or under what conditions those sheep are found.

If you take the last official report of the Department of Agriculture upon farm animals you will find that in nearly every State where there has been an increase it has come from the extension of the practice, not of raising sheep for wool, but of raising lambs for mutton.

From Maine we have the suggestion that "in sheep there is a very decided increase of mutton breeds." From Massachusetts, where there has been a large increase, we hear that farmers "in the neighborhood of Boston and other large cities find it profitable to raise early spring lambs for the market, declaring that no stock pays better."

In New York the condition stated as accounting for the slight increase is that "more are being kept than formerly, as lamb and mutton are in demand at all times at profitable prices."

In Ohio there has been an increase in the number of sheep, and the reason which the Agricultural Department gives for that increase is this: "Sheep, prime mutton, and ready sale, and, competition being more restricted than with beef, the prices have ranged with profit to feeders. Wool, however, is lower than for years."

It goes on to explain, in other words, that the increase of sheep in Ohio is not what might have been expected from the rise in the price of mutton; and the reason why it is not so great as it might be is that the price of wool has so gone down as to make a drawback to the sheep industry thus stimulated by the price of mutton.

In Michigan it is stated that there is an increase, and that the reason is that "the feeding of lambs is still being carried on as a business," and "the mutton breeds are the most popular and profitable."

In Illinois there is reported a slight increase, which is accounted for on the ground that "the mutton breeds are becoming popular." In Minnesota—and I want my friends on the other side to hear this, because it is the one straw of comfort that they are going to get in this whole business—it is reported that "the dairy industry seems to be expanding and also the growing of wool."

There is the one State, the one place, and the only place where, according to the Agricultural reports just published, the wool-growing business is not going downward. The number of sheep in the country generally is being increased (if it is increasing) by the fact that farmers are turning their attention away from the growing of wool to the growing of lambs for slaughter.

On the other hand, in the great wool-growing States, that same Agricultural report, upon which our friends of the minority rely, shows that the wool-growing industry is going backwards. In the great State of Texas the number of sheep remains about the same, but the prices are lower. In the great State of California the number of sheep is less. From the great wool-growing States and Territories of Montana, Utah, New Mexico, Wyoming and Oregon there are no reports, except estimates as to the number of sheep.

It appears that no estimate of the number of sheep in Montana has been made during last year; that in New Mexico there are now only 2,900,000 sheep as compared with 3,100,000 a year ago; that no estimate has been made for Utah for the last two years; that in the rapidly developing State of Wyoming the increase has been only 126,000, or about 12 per cent., and that Oregon has but 2,456,000 sheep as compared with her 2,800,000 of only a year ago.

APPRECIATIVE WOOL-GROWERS.

The farmers are beginning to understand this matter. As an example of the extent to which they have done away with the use of the little wool that was pulled over their eyes, I will refer to but one instance. The Wool-Growers and Sheep-Breeders' Association of Ontario and Livingston Counties, in New York, is one of the oldest and strongest and most representative organizations of that kind in the United States. There, sir, is one of the great centres of the fine wool growing and sheep-breeding industries. The members of that association are in the main Republicans. They were protectionists.

But, when they got together and looked each other in the face, in January, 1891, they concluded to stop political wool-growing and to look at that matter in a practical way. When those wool-growers and sheep-breeders got together after election, and their party was not at stake, and all they had to consider was the wool business, here is the conclusion to which they came.

Whereas, it has been the policy in the past for this association to annually pass stereotyped resolutions praying Congress to restore the wool duty of 1867 or its equivalent; and

Whereas, this association finally recognizes the unsoundness of its past position on this question, and ever ready to correct any error into which it may have fallen, we beg leave to submit the following:

First. We recognize that the wool duty is a delusion and a snare to the wool-grower, and that it has largely been instrumental in driving to the wall an industry it was calculated to benefit.

Second. Prior to 1867, under the various changes of the wool duties, the price of wool fluctuated, not in sympathy with the tariff, but by reason of the ever-controlling law of demand and supply, the grower having received high prices and low prices under high tariffs, and, conversely, low prices and high prices under low tariffs.

Third. The success of the wool-grower depends on the success of the woolen manufacturer, while the American manufacturer is seriously handicapped by reason of being compelled to pay exorbitant tariff taxes on every pound of clothing wool imported for necessary admixture, while all foreign countries of any consequence have the benefit of free wool, and are thus enabled to undersell our manufacturers.

Fourth. The great wool tariff of 1867 resulted in driving from the eight chief wool-producing States—for whose special benefit said tariff was conceived and passed—more than 50 per cent. of their sheep in a single decade, while the price of wool declined in a nearly corresponding ratio.

Fifth. The importation of foreign wool increased from about 26,000,000 pounds in 1867 to more than 120,000,000 pounds in 1871, just four years succeeding the highest duty ever imposed on wool and woolens.

Sixth. During eight of the past eighteen years the foreign prices of imported clothing wools at the last port of export actually exceeded the price of our domestic fleece in the markets of Boston, New York or Philadelphia, while in no single year did the domestic wools bring the foreign price, plus the duty.

Seventh. England, France and Germany are the only three countries in the world that export woolen manufactures in excess of the imports of raw wool, in other words, these countries, by admitting wool free, have created a demand for their home wool in excess of all wools required to clothe their people and after giving employment to labor, export more wool than they have imported. The United States, on the other hand, by imposing a high duty on raw wool has not only destroyed our export trade, but so throttled our manufacturers as to ruin the market for domestic fleece and give to the English, French and German manufacturers the cream of our markets for cloths.

Eighth. The free importation of raw wool into the United States would knock out the imports of woolen goods and would revive the present depressed state of our own manufacturers, thus giving employment to labor here and create an increased demand for our strong wools for necessary admixture,

Ninth. Recognizing the truth of the above facts, therefore, we, the members of the Ontario and Livingston Sheep-Breeders' and Wool-Growers' Association, in convention assembled, most respectfully petition Congress to immediately place wool and woolen manufactures on the free list, in order that their industries may again thrive and assume that magnitude commensurate with a nation of 63,000,000 of people.

Wool Manufacture Since the McKinley Act.

In his speech at Sedalia, Mo., August 30, 1892, Senator Vest showed how the McKinley wool tariff has promoted the "shoddy" industry and largely prevented the American people from enjoying the use and benefit of warm woolen clothing.

The increase of prices caused by the McKinley Act has produced deterioration in the quality of goods.

Dealers have been forced to ask from the manufacturers an article of goods similar in appearance but inferior in quality, so as to satisfy the market demand without an increase of price. This is especially the fact as to goods containing wool in any quantity. Under the McKinley Act all fabrics containing even a single thread of wool pay an import duty of 98.84 per cent. ad valorem. It cost the importers for the twelve months after the passage of the McKinley law $37,785,080 to land in New York, without insurance, commission or freight, fabrics containing wool which cost abroad only $19,591,650.

The inevitable result of this enormous duty has been to decrease the foreign importation and to give control of the market here to the American manufacturers.

As the McKinley Act places a heavy duty upon foreign wools, the duty on grease wool being 11 cents a pound, the American manufacturer finds it more profitable to use neither foreign or domestic wool altogether, but to mix with his wool cotton and shoddy out of which is made cloth similar to that made entirely of wool, but which the consumer finds to be much inferior when subjected to wear.

This fact is clearly shown by the wonderful increase of the shoddy factories and their product in the United States. In 1870, according to the census, there were 56 shoddy factories in the United States, and their product was $1,768,892; in 1880, 10 years, they had increased to 73 establishments, producing $4,989,615 worth of goods. In 1890 there were 91 establishments, producing $9,208,011 worth of goods. In 1890 there were consumed in the United States 61,636,261 pounds of shoddy. Of wool in the grease the United States produced 276,000,000 pounds in 1890, or in scoured wool 92,000,000 pounds.

This shoddy had as a cloth-producing power 67 per cent. of the domestic wool. Nearly 70 per cent. was made out of shoddy, principally out of cotton and out of old rags coming from diseased places, from the purlieus and shanties of the cities.

The Tariff and Iron.

Republican statistics show how high duties on crude iron have crippled the iron industry. For more than 200 hundred years, down to 1880, Massachussets held noticeable prominence as an iron manufacturing State.

But in 1890 the iron industries of Massachusetts, strong in the possession of the experience of two and a half centuries and of trained mechanics in whose familes iron-working had become hereditary, began strangely enough to decline.

In 1880 there were forty-one rolling mills in New England, of which twenty-five were in Massachusetts. In 1891 there were but twenty-one active rolling mills in New England, of which ten were in Massachusetts.

In 1880 there were twelve cut-nail factories in Massachusetts; in 1891 there were but two in operation.

In 1880 there were reported as produced in Massachusetts 116,846 tons of rolled iron; in 1887 only 45,858 tons; and several mills have retired since that date.

In 1880 the United States Census reports enumerated 217 puddling furnaces in New England, of which 191 were in Massachusetts. In 1890 and 1891 there was not probably a ton of pig-iron puddled in New England, certainly very little if any.

In 1887 there were 30,688 tons of steel rails made in Massachusetts; in 1890 none.

Such has been the effect in Massachusetts of maintaining the high duties on crude iron.

The effect elsewhere has been scarcely less disastrous. As long ago as March 22, 1869, John Roach told a special committee of the House of Representatives how the tariff on pig iron had ruined American ship-building and American commerce. Mr. Roach said:

"America has lost her commerce and what has she obtained in exchange for it? Simply the right for a few men to charge $9 per ton, in gold, on the importation of pig-iron. Pig-iron was the basis of all other metals connected with the making and repairing of ships. There has been a revolution in ship-building, and iron is the material from which they are now built. The high cost of the iron, produced by the tariff upon it, is one of the principal difficulties our commerce has to contend with."

Major L. S. Bent, President of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, testifying before the Ways and Means Committee after demonstrating how the tariff on pig iron drained his company of $750,000 per year, thus crippling its operations, concluded by saying:

"Give me free ore and I will sell pig-iron in Liverpool and send steel rails to London."

Mr. Roach's statement in 1869 that in placing a high tariff on iron ore America has simply given a few men the power to charge exorbitant prices, is corroborated by Republican authorities of to-day. Speaking of the immense fortunes amassed by iron mine-owners, the protectionist Pittsburgh *Commercial Gazette* says:

"The earnings of some of the Lake Superior iron ore companies have been something phenomenal during the past few months. One company with a capital stock of $500,000 is reported to have cleared in fifteen months over $700,000, or considerably more than the entire capital. Stock at the par value of $25 has gone up until it is held at $175 a share, which is not at all strange when the earning capacity of the company is considered."

Here is an increase of 600 per cent. in the value of the property of men who say they need protection still for their infant industry, and that they can not compete with the ores of far-away Spain. What cost them one dollar to buy is now worth seven dollars; and every dollar they put into the property now yields $1.12 a year.

Another company which is reaping enormous profits out of iron mines is the Metropolitan Iron and Land Company of Michigan, a large part of the stock of which is owned in Massachusetts. In January a dividend of twenty-six per cent. was paid by this company; on April 20 a further dividend of twelve per cent. was paid; and in addition to this a stock dividend of twenty-five per cent. was declared at the same time. That is to say, instead of paying out the full dividend in money, the stock of each stockholder was increased by twenty-five per cent. Future dividends will, of course, be calculated upon the basis of the stock thus watered; and the dividends which are paid will, by this watering process, be disguised in such a way that the people will not be able to see at once what vast profits they are helping these mine-owners to make. The stockholders pay in not one cent of extra money, and yet they will receive dividends hereafter upon one-fourth more of stock than they paid for. That is one way to disguise from the people the effect of the high protection they continue to vote to these mine owners.

If we sum up the dividends paid out by this company, including the stock dividend, we get a total of thirteen per cent. The shares of the company command an enormous premium. The par value is $25, and the last sale which is known was for $85. But so far as is known there have been no recent sales. People who have such a good thing, and a public so ready to tax itself for their benefit, do not readily part with their property.

The pretense that the tariff on iron ore is for the benefit of the iron miners is disposed of, not only by such facts as the above, showing the enormous

profits made by the mine-owners, but by the further fact that at no time has the labor cost of producing iron ore and converting it into pig-iron ever equalled the amount of duty on pig-iron. The duty on pig-iron is three-tenths cents per pound, while the labor cost of producing pig-iron is as low as 69 cents per ton.

The total production of iron ore in the United States in 1889, according to the census, was 14,518,041 tons, 7,558,078 tons, or 52 per cent., of which were mined in the three States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The other important ore-producing States are Alabama, with 1,570,319 tons; Pennsylvania, with 1,560,234 tons; and New York, with 1,247,537 tons. In short, the above six States produced 11,936,166 tons, or over 82 per cent. of the whole product of the country.

The Census Bulletin also shows total cost of producing the ore and the cost of labor per ton. These costs for the above States are as follows:

State.	Total Cost, per ton.	Labor Cost, per ton.
Michigan	$2 07	$1 19
Wisconsin	1 78	1 09
Minnesota	1 80	1 10
Alabama	82	69
Pennsylvania	1 10	75
New York	1 64	1 00

In view of the above figures of costs, nothing is left of the claims of high-tariff advocates that the total cost of producing iron ore is for labor and that but for the tariff on iron ore we could not compete with other countries.

LEAD.

A few producers of carbonate lead ores in Colorado succeeded in inducing the Ways and Means Committee to impose a duty of one and a half cents per pound on all the lead contained in silver-lead ores imported from Mexico to be used as a flux in smelting domestic dry ores. Under the tariff of 1883 such ores were free if the value of the silver contained in them was more than the value of the lead. The Carbonate Ring was granted the increased duty.

What the result has been is shown by the following from the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of January 31, 1891:

"The high treatment charges remain unchanged on silicious ores and those carrying but a small amount of lead, and in consequence there are frequent reports from Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and other places, of mines which are stocking ore, restricting production, or closing down, until there shall be a favorable change in the ore market. At the present time, after the law has been in operation for less than four months, there are fewer mines in operation and the lead product is less than before its passage. The price of lead has been increased, it is true, but the value of the lead product of the mines of the argentiferous lead ore producing States, has fallen off from $12,261,600 to $11,558,400. There never was a pernicious law which showed its injurious effects more quickly or plainly than this. It has hurt the interests of the miners of silver lead and dry ores; it has hurt the interests of American capital invested in mines and railways in Mexico, and it has hurt the smelting interests of this country. Whom has it benefited? Only the mining interests of Mexico—whither it has driven capital for in-

vestment in smelting works—the bankers and smelters of Europe, and the comparatively small number of American producers of high grade lead ores, particularly lead carbonate, who have been enabled to exact abnormally high prices for their ores, which increase, of course, comes directly from the pockets of the producers of the silicious and refractory grades."

The production of lead in the leading States, the miners of which secured the duty of 1½ cents per pound on lead ore, in 1890 and 1891 has been as follows:

	Production.	
	1890. Tons.	1891. Tons.
Arizona and California	1,000	1,000
Colorado	60,000	64,000
Idaho and Montana	24,000	25,000
Nevada	2,500	2,500
Utah	24,000	25,000
Total	111,500	117,500

The production of lead in these States increased during the year only 6,000 tons.

The producers and smelters of lead in Missouri, Kansas, Illinois and Wisconsin who use the imported ores as a flux in the smelting of our own more refractory silver-lead ores, opposed the duty and declared that it would greatly injure their business. The production of lead in these States in 1891, as compared with 1890, was as follows:

	1890. Tons.	1891. Tons.
Lead produced	55,000	40,000

—a falling off of 15,000 tons, making the net loss in the production of lead in the States enumerated in 1891 9,000 tons.

How this was brought about is shown by Mr. Bothwell, of the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, in his annual review of the lead industry. He says:

"For a short time indeed, toward the end of 1890, the price of lead was advanced by the McKinley bill, and the smelting charges on dry silver ores were also increased quite heavily, owing to a temporary scarcity of lead fluxing ores, but a more liberal interpretation of the bill of the Treasury Department again allowed the Mexican ore to enter. The price of lead thenceforward declined (though smelting charges did not), and as a final outcome it must be apparent to every one, from a study of these statistics, that the McKinley bill has been an injury rather than a benefit to the lead, and especially to the silver miners of the West.

"This result must set some of the intelligent miners to thinking who profited when they were injured, or at least not benefited, by the legislation which they were told would prove so greatly to their advantage. But had Mexican lead ores continued to come in free, what would have been the result? Undoubtedly the smelting of Mexican ores would have been done in this country, to the obvious advantage of our metallurgical industry, instead of in works built with American capital in Mexico.

"Lead might have ruled lower in price had a very large amount of ore come in from abroad, but this would have greatly stimulated consumption, and would have kept down smelting charges on dry ores, the mining of which gives occupation to more men than does the mining of lead ores."

Turning from the injurious effects of the duty on the production and smelting of silver-lead ores in the United States to the effect on the production of lead in Mexico, Mr. Bothwell says:

"Previous to 1890, only a few unimportant smelting works existed in Mexico, the product of which was very small, but when the American market was closed to the Mexican miners, who could not afford to pay the heavy freight charges to Europe on the low grade ores, nothing was left for them to do but to establish a smelting industry of their own. The opportunity was promptly seized, not only by them but also by some of the larger American smelters, who found themselves deprived of a portion of their supplies; they, too, went over to Mexico and started up smelting works, which are now partly in operation, and will be entirely so early this year.

"At present the production of lead bullion in Mexico goes on at the rate of about 1,200 tons per month, but very shortly this will be increased to about 2,500 tons, and may by the end of this year amount to 3,000 tons. If this latter figure is reached it will mean that Mexico will thus produce about one-sixth as much as the United States, and there can be no doubt that most of this bullion would have been produced here had not the law been altered in a most deplorably narrow-minded spirit."

Since the duty on imported ores benefits no one in the United States, but has caused great injury to the silver-lead ore producers and smelters, why should it not be repealed?

COPPER.

The history of the copper tariff is the history of unblushing greed and bold and barefaced robbery. The Lake Superior copper mine-owners, after inducing Congress to impose a heavy duty on copper, squeezed the American manufacturer out of the last cent permitted by the tariff, while at the same time they sold copper to foreigners at the price fixed by the foreign supply; that is, foreigners could buy American copper from three to four cents cheaper than Americans could buy it. It was actually cheaper to have the copper go to England and back, because, even after allowing for the Englishman's profit, the American manufacturer was able to buy the copper cheaper from the English purchaser than he could buy direct from the American copper mine-owners. He could do this because the copper could be imported into the United States free of duty, as an original product of the United States. When this practice became known to the copper mine-owners they put a stop to it by requiring the foreign buyer to guarantee European consumption before giving him the benefit of the reduced prices.

The following brief outline of the combination formed by the Lake Superior mines will show how immense capital and unscrupulous lobbying can secure protection for even the most unworthy objects; and how, after being protected, the power thus given is used to rob and oppress millions of consumers. The copper combination was formed in 1879 by the following mines: The Calumet & Hecla, Atlantic, Quincy, Central, Allouez, Franklin, Pewabic and Huron; the Copper Falls and Conglomerate Companies were admitted later. It was agreed that all the sales of copper should be made by the sales agent of the Calumet & Hecla. The aim was to keep up the price of copper in this country to the limit allowed by the tariff duty of 5 cents per pound. The surplus produced over the consumption in the United States was to be exported and sold on the condition that the buyers would not re-import it. This plan continued till 1883, when the sales agent of the Calumet & Hecla

died. Thereupon, written contracts were made by all the mines mentioned above, providing that all the copper produced should be pooled and sold by the Calumet & Hecla either in this country or abroad. Ten per cent. of the receipts from the sales of copper was to be retained for use either to buy Lake copper in the markets when they should become glutted, or in case it was thought best to hold the copper for a considerable length to assist the weaker mines to continue their operations.

This contract was drawn October 18, 1883, to continue in force one year. On February 14, 1884, new contracts were made to continue the arrangements till January 1, 1885, and the third and last contract was drawn up and signed August 20, 1884, to continue the pool one year longer, from January 1, 1885. These contracts gave the Calumet & Hecla complete control over the copper produced in Michigan to sell when it pleased, and at what price it pleased. In the last contract the following provision occurs: "It is the purpose of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company to make a large sale of copper for export at the best price obtainable, from 12,000 to 17,000 tons." The sale was made and the copper was to be delivered in three installments in November, December and January, and the price agreed upon was an advance of £4 per ton (equal to .86 of a cent per lb.), above the average price of Chili bars for those months. The Quincy Company objected to this and proceeded to sell its copper for export through certain brokers in New York, who succeeded in getting more than a cent per pound above the price obtained by the Calumet & Hecla.

The Calumet & Hecla for itself and the other mines in the pool applied for an injunction from the Supreme Court of New York, to stop the independent sale of copper by the Quincy Company. The sixth article of the complaint shows clearly how, by the aid of the tariff, this combination had fleeced the American consumer for five successive years. It is as follows:

"Acting upon the faith of and in full compliance with said agreements, said Calumet & Hecla Mining Company entered into an agreement and made a contract with certain European parties for the sale and delivery during the periods covered by said agreements of many thousand tons of copper. A part of the consideration of said last-named contract with said European parties was the agreement made by the said Calumet & Hecla Mining Company acting for itself and for all other companies above named that no more copper should be sold by said companies for exportation during said period, and the European parties agreed on their part that none of said copper should be re-imported into the United States."

In the answer, the defendant, the Quincy Mining Company, declares:

"For an answer and defense herein the defendant alleges that the contracts referred to in the plaintiff's complaint were executed by the several parties thereto for the purpose of carrying into effect agreements which they had made to combine with each other to prevent a free competition among themselves in the business of selling their productions of copper, and to enable the plaintiff, the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, to control the amount of Lake Superior copper, which should be put upon the market, and also to control and to keep up beyond what it would otherwise be, the price at which the same should be sold during the continuance of said contracts."

In January, 1885, Judge Lawrence rendered his decision, refusing to grant the injunction on the ground that it was contrary to public policy. The disruption of this agreement, the reduction of the duties in 1883, and the growing competition of the new mines in the West, whose ability to produce copper cheaply and in large quantities was questioned by the Superior mines, which

consequently for a time tried to crush them, gave us comparatively free competition, so that for two years and a half there were probably no corners or combinations to regulate prices; and copper ranged from 1⅛ to 2⅛ cents only, higher in this country than in England. But in the fall of 1887 the greatest copper combination was formed.

This was what is known to history as the French Syndicate. Starting with the speculations in copper by the Societie de Metaux under the leadership of M. Secretan, it at first contemplated only a local corner in the market. But soon the scheme took form to buy up the output of the chief mines of the world for a term of years, and make the corner an international one. Contracts were made with all the principal mines of the United States, in the fall of 1887 and spring of 1888, generally in the same terms, though some of the larger mines by holding off secured better contracts.

It was for the interest of the copper producers in the United States to increase their product as much as possible the prices thus secured. As a consequence, the United States production rose from 80,768 in 1887 to 103,128 tons in 1888. The same was true also of the German, Spanish, and, to some extent, of Chilian supply, so that the increase in the world's supply for the year was nearly 40,000 tons.

While the syndicate was being swamped with copper the consumers were exerting all their powers to avoid making purchases at the exorbitant rates demanded by it. January and February, 1889, developed signs of weakness on the part of the syndicate; to offset the effects of which and to give the impression that it was still backed by plenty of capital a new company was organized, the "Compagnie Auxiliaire des Metaux," at the head of which were M. Secretan and M. Danfert, one of the the directors of the Comptoir d'Escompte, and negotiations were made with the chief producers by which they agreed as a preliminary step, looking to a reduction of the supply to suspend all deliveries from March 15 to May 15. The suicide of M. Danfert and the bankruptcy of the Comptoir d'Escompte, which had given it heavy loans, completed the fall of the syndicate. In January, 1889, ingot copper was quoted here at 17¼ cents; by the end of March it had fallen to 15¼, and by the end of May to 12, and remained at this price until September and October, when it fell to 11 cents. The last great copper corner had reached an end.

According to C. Kirschoff there was a consumption of 76,124,641 pounds of new copper by 109 firms in the United States in 1888. These 109 consumers on the basis that copper would not have been above 12 cents had the corner not been organized, paid to the syndicate $3,615,920, of which $1,141,869 went to the producers, while the remainder, or $2,474,051, was divided equally between the syndicate and the producers. In 1888 we produced 236,000,000 pounds, which, with the stock left over from 1887, made the total supply 276,000,000. Of this we exported 78,000,000, and had on hand at the end of the year, 78,000,000. Our consumption of copper, therefore, in all industries was about 120,000,000, which cost the American consumer $5,700,000 more than the natural price would warrant. Of this the syndicate secured nearly $2,000,000, and the mine-owners nearly $3,700,000.

How little the members of the copper combines require protection appears from the following statement of their enormous profits:

In 1886 the Calumet and Hecla, Quincy, Atlantic, Central and Franklin, producing 29,767 tons out of a total of 35,665 tons produced in the Lake Superior region, paid $1,900,000 in dividends, as follows:

Calumet and Hecla, $1,500,000, or $15 per share of $25, or at the rate of 125 per cent. on the capital actually paid in.

The Quincy, $240,000, or $6 per share of $25, or at the rate of 120 per cent. on the paid-up capital.

The Franklin, $80,000, or $2 per share of $25, or at the rate of 36 per cent. on the investment.

The Central, $40,000, or $2 per share of $25, or 40 per cent. on the investment.

The Atlantic, $40,000, or $1 per share of $25, or 14 per cent. on the investment.

The Osceola, whose last dividend was 25 cents per share in September, 1884, paid in January, 1887, $50,000, or $1 per share of $25, or 10 per cent. on the paid-up capital.

THE TIN PLATE HUMBUG.

CONGRESSMAN BUNTING'S EXPOSURE OF REPUBLICAN FALSE PRETENSES IN HIS SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On January 16, 1889, Senator Allison went on record with the prophesy that "within less than one year there will be in this country a sufficient plant to manufacture all the tin plate that we use."

On April 16, 1890, the McKinley Ways and Means Committee reported to the House that "it has been demonstrated that we can manufacture tinned plate as successfully as it can be done in England. Its production here suitable for all uses is no longer experimental. The bill provides that the increased duty shall not go into effect until July 1, 1891, and it is believed that manufacturers encouraged in this proposed legislation in the meantime will adapt their plants to the new production, and that in the end the advanced duty will not enhance the cost to consumers."

Let us see to what extent these predictions have been accomplished after one year's experimenting at a total cost to the consumers of this country of $20,000,000, $4,600,000 of which went into the pockets of Welsh manufacturers of tin plate. Even were all the Republican claims true there would still be small recompense for this expenditure of $20,000,000. Their whole contention is summed up in the assertion of Congressman Taylor, of Ohio, that the McKinley bill has given the tin-plate industry a "prospective existence." But an examination of the present status of the industry shows that even this expectation of a "prospective existence" has but the flimsiest foundation.

The speech of Hon. Thomas Bunting in the House of Representatives, June 16, 1892, illuminates the situation. The main points of this speech are as follows:

"Col. Ira Ayers, Special Agent of the Treasury Department, has recently edited some original matter printed at Government expense. In his little treatise he touches on prospective American tin-mining, prospective American tin-plate mills, and inadvertently, on the sworn statement of tin-plate manufacturers, expose the present insignificance of the American tin-plate industry.

It is claimed that we are doubling up these tin-plate productions every quarter. That is the claim set forth by Mr. Ayres. Now, I want to show you that instead of doubling up, the manufacturers are falling out as fast as they get into line. You will find in the first summary, September 31, 1891, five concerns reporting. The first is the pioneer of the tin-plate industry, Cronmeyer, who reports for the first quarter 139,000 pounds; for the second quarter, 161,000; for the third quarter only 120,000, an actual falling off for the last quarter. The Pittsburgh Electro-plating Company for the first quarter reports 550,000 pounds; for the second quarter, 255,000; and for the quarter only 98,000. Marshall Brothers for the first quarter report 45,000 pounds; for the second quarter, 59,000; and for the third quarter, "none." N. & G. Taylor, "Out of business." That covers the first summary; and here is the second quarter, December 31, 1891: William P. Simpson, of Cincinnati, second quarter, 7,500 pounds; third quarter, only 995 pounds. Fleming & Hamilton, second quarter, 225,000 pounds; third quarter, "none." The Apollo Iron and Steel Company, Apollo, Pa., second quarter, 31,000 pounds; third quarter, "none."

Here is the McKinley Tin Plate Company, Pittsburgh, Pa. I have a little special report on that company. Here is a letter received from that company on May 26, which says:

> When you are needing American terne, we should like to submit a sample of McKinley, by box or the car load.

That was on May 26. I have a leaf here from R. G. Dun's Mercantile Agency, of June 4, which says:

> Pittsburgh, McKinley Tin Plate Company, limited, dissolved on vote of stockholders.

Here is another, the Keystone Tin Plate Company. This concern did not make any report. This is also closed, and wants to sell. The argument used is that it cost too much for imported pig tin, and imported sheets, and imported labor and the whole plant can be bought for $2,500. A further inducement is that the rent is only 50 cents a day for the whole establishment, and that they have the use of one arc light, on which the rent is 60 cents a day. I know whereof I speak, because I have been there as a buyer.

Of the five concerns reporting for the first quarter, therefore, four have either gone out of business or decreased their output according to the returns for the third quarter. Seven out of the eleven reporting for the second quarter have either gone out of business or decreased their output. These are the oldest establishments in the business. What is the significance of this to a business man? It simply means that the business is a sham. As my friend from Indiana [Mr. SHIVELY] said yesterday, it is no trick to make tin plate. I think, however, my friend made one assertion that was not exactly correct when he said that there had been no tin plate made by American labor.

I know that is not the fact, because the gentleman from Indiana and the gentleman from New York have had the honor of making tin plate at Philadelphia, and it was not low-priced labor either.

Here, then, Mr. Chairman, is the infant tin-plate industry which has grown up under the McKinley Act——

Mr. Wilson of West Virginia—Has the gentleman figured out exactly what proportion of all the tin plate made in this country was made by the gentleman from Indiana and the gentleman from New York?

Mr. Bunting—I have not. I will say that the gentleman from Indiana took the place of the Welshman, and the gentleman from New York took the place of the boy. The steel sheets were imported, as was also the tinning pot, pig tin, and palm oil, and we paid the Welsh inventor a royalty for the use of the machine.

Mr. Warner—Is that the only tin plate that has been made in this country without imported labor?

Mr. Bunting—So far as we know, it is.

Mr. Wilson of West Virginia—I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I have made one sheet of tin plate.

N. & G. Taylor & Co.'s Bad Example.

I wish now to get down to say a few additional words about our friend Taylor in Philadelphia, who is the present tin-plate authority on the other side of the House. Here is something that has come to me quite recently, and in order to give the committee the benefit of the information, I will read a portion of a letter written by Mr. Taylor, dated April 19, in which, speaking of the tin-plate making process, he says:

By this process two boys can pass as many as 70 boxes of IC 14x20 in ten hours; you surely can not consider that there is very much expense attached to this, and we are surprised that the canners in this country do not consider the manufacturing of their own plates, it is so simple; and as far as the value is concerned, take for instance IC 14x20 coke tin, 112 sheets to the box, the black sheet would weigh about 100 pounds, the present value being 3¾ cents.

100 pounds black sheets, 3¾ cents	$3 75
1⅛ pounds pure tin for coating	80
To which must be added the labor. In Great Britain we understand that the total labor is counted at 14 cents, but in making a full calculation we would take double the amount, namely	28
	$4 83

As the market value of these plates to-day is about $5.25, you can see there is a difference of $1.02 per box, surely enough for the canner to consider the advisability of producing his own goods. There are so few things necessary to make the finished article that the cost can be easily reached, and we are sure that if the canners of the United States would carefully consider the advisability of producing the tin for their own consumption it would not be a great while before this would be started and in time reach large proportions.

Here is a man who, we are told, proposes to go into the tin-plate business in a large way. The report of Mr. Ayres says that he proposes to put $400,000 of capital into a tin-plate plant, yet here he is advising his prospective patrons to go into the tin-plate business themselves! And while he claims that he will be in shape in a few days to turn out tin plates, and that two boys will turn out a car load every three days, we yet find him in his lucid business intervals writing letters to the trade like the following:

PHILADELPHIA, March 29, 1892.

GENTLEMEN: We understand from our Mr. Green that you will be in the market next month for a car load of canning tin. We should be pleased to hear from you when you are

ready to place your order, as considerable would be saved by a direct shipment from England, especially for a quantity of at least two car loads.

Very truly, yours,

N. & G. TAYLOR & Co.

ADRIAN PACKING Co., Adrian, Mich.

Why does he not quit writing letters and go into the tin-plate business in reality? He says he can make $1 per box and that two boys would produce twenty boxes per day, which, at 28 cents per box (his estimate), would amount to $19.60 a day for labor, $9.80 for each of these boys and $70 per day profit for himself."

The Anderson Tin Plate Company of Anderson, Ind., reported to Col. Ayers as follows:

ANDERSON, IND., March 31, 1892.

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 29th received. I have just mailed quarterly report to you and will now give the information you ask in reference to plant. But I will first explain why our output is so small when our capacity is about 18 tons per week (and will be 36 tons within ten or fifteen days).

The writer accidentally got into the business by trying to help a Welshman start. He did not know anything about the tinning department, consequently he squandered the money furnished. I could not allow a failure, and have kept on gathering information and experimenting with the best men I could get, and to-day we are fixed to make tin and terne plate equal to anything in the world. We now require running capital only to make a splendid showing this spring and summer. With running capital we can increase our capacity every thirty days about 400 boxes. If the tariff is not disturbed you will see hundreds of tin-plate manufacturers over here to take a hand with us inside of two years.

Our plant consists of two tinning stacks, capacity for 800 boxes, 20 by 14, or about 4,000,000 pounds yearly, of I C. The workroom or tinning room is 80 by 50, about 34 feet high (to roof), giving good air to the operators. In this room the picker, rubbers and dusters work with the washman, tinners, catchers, etc. The assorting and packing room is 25 by 60, one story, superintendent's office 12 by 15, and storage room 25 by 25.

We are now using a five-roll "Morewood" set for tin, but as soon as our own five-roll set is ready we shall use the Morewood on ternes. Capital for running expenses is all that will prevent our putting in another stack to give us a capacity for 1,200 boxes weekly.

We buy our black plates, and are satisfied to let the duty remain just as it is. All we want is capital to handle the stuff and get the most out of it. *We have less than* $20,000 invested. Our experience has been well paid for, and we feel that we can make as good, if not superior, plate (tin or terne) to anything imported at present prices, and make nice dividends.

Truly yours,

THE ANDERSON TIN PLATE Co.,
Per C. B. ORVIS,
General Manager.

Now comes the sequel to the report of this particular concern which had "$20,000 or *less*" invested in its plant, and which only needed capital to make a "splendid showing" and "nice dividends" about August 1, 1892. This company was sold out by the sheriff for the sum of $218.30. According to the New York *Post:*

"This 'plant' was bought in Wales. It gave employment to four men, three of whom were imported from Wales. There were also a few boys and girls employed. The black plates were also imported from Wales, an attempt having been first made to use Pittsburgh plates. The Indianapolis *Sentinel's* account of the sale says that some farmers in the neighborhood came in to attend it, being moved by curiosity, not having heard before that there were any tin-plate works at Anderson. One of the imported Welshmen said that

he had been promised $2.50 per day, but that since he was out of employment altogether, he perceived that he had made a mistake in coming to this country. Now this mighty establishment, the Anderson Tin Plate Company, which failed for $218 and was bid in by the creditor, who held a judgment for this sum, is to be reopened, as we learn from the most religious evening newspaper in the United States, which has a despatch from Indianapolis saying:

'C. B. Orvis, principal owner of the Anderson tin mill, was in Indianapolis to-day, maturing plans for pushing the work.

'Mr. Orvis says the difficulties will be settled, and that between the 15th and 20th of this month the mill will be running day and night, turning out a thousand boxes of tin plate a week, for which there is a ready market at good prices.

'Mr. Orvis says the suits which brought his industry under the hammer were instigated by Democratic politicians and newspapers, who have announced their determination to wreck the tin-plate industry at any cost in the interest of the Democratic party.'

Of course, if the Democrats could stop a manufactory of campaign badges for the small sum of $218, they would be just mean enough to do so.''

The prospectiveness of this industry fades further into the distance the more it is examined. At the present moment it would require a telescopic vision to see when this $20,000,000 a year experiment would result in placing it upon the footing prophesied for it in one year by Senator Allison.

The Republican Administration has been driven to dire straits to make even the poor showing claimed by them.

The Government summaries published for the nine months ending March 31 and quoted in the minority report show that 5,240,830 pounds of tin plate and terne plates has been produced. The same report gives our average yearly consumption of tin-plate and terne plates at 678,000,000. Hence the domestic manufacturers are now supplying less than one per cent. of consumption, and the whole output for the nine months would last American consumers just twenty-two hours.

Even this poor showing must be discounted when it is known that black sheets, used for stamping and tinning, are tin plates according to the provisions of the law and that the Treasury Department holds that imported sheets, if dipped here in imported tin, also constitute "American" tin plates. The returns to the Government permit also a manufacturer of black plates to return his product as sold for stamping, while these same sheets may be returned by another concern that manufactures them into tin plates, thus duplicating the same product in the Government summary.

About one per cent. of the total consumption is all that $20,000,000 increased taxation has secured, and even this amount is only obtained by counting as American tin plates the British black plates imported and tinned here. The importation of these plates in the whole year ending June 30, 1890, before the McKinley Bill went into operation, was only 2,298 pounds. It shot up to 5,418,523 pounds in nine months ending March 31, 1892, and during this time the Treasury Department reported a manufacture of 5,240,830 pounds of American tin plate, showing that there remained at that time 177,722 pounds of British black plate to be tinned. The duty on black plate is $1.65 per 100 pounds, while on tin plate it is $2.20 per 100 pounds. This affords a fine chance for profit at the expense of the consumer, since tin-plate dipping is

scarcely more complicated than dipping one's self in the ocean on the Jersey shore.

Mr. Bunting in his speech exposed still further the flimsy pretensions set forth in the report of the McKinleyites. Referring to it he said:

"The provision of the law under which the position held by Mr. Ayers was created is that of section 143 of the Tariff Act of 1890, which provides that on and after October 1, 1897, tin plates and terne plates lighter in weight than 63 pounds per 100 square feet shall be admitted free of duty, unless it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the President (who shall thereupon by proclamation make known the fact) that the aggregate quantity of such plates lighter than 63 pounds per 100 square feet produced in the United States during either of the six years next preceding June 13, 1897, has equaled one-third of the amount of such plates imported and entered for consumption for any fiscal year after the passage of this act and prior to said October 1, 1897."

Under this provision the duty of special agent was twofold—first, to secure reliable data as to imports of tin plate and terne plates under 63 pounds to the 100 square feet; second, to secure the same data with reference to the American production of tinned plates and terne plates under 63 pounds to the 100 square feet, so that it could be determined on October 1, 1897, whether the domestic manufacture of tinned plates and terne plates of that weight exceeded in any one year one-third the imports of these same products for any one year. The following instructions, therefore, from Acting Secretary Spaulding, touching imports, were proper. He says:

In view of the foregoing provisions, it is important to secure correct statistics of the importation of tin plates and terne plates lighter in weight than 63 pounds per 100 square feet for each of the six fiscal years beginning with July 1, 1891.

The Acting Secretary, however, when he came to issuing orders for the summary of the American product, with characteristic bias, gave a political construction to this same provision. He says:

In order to give due effect to the foregoing provisions, it is important to secure correct statistics of the manufacture of tin plates and terne plates in the United States.

It will be observed that no limit as to the weight is charged as to the American products and following this loose construction Mr. Ayers has not failed to pad his summaries so as to make the American product show up. We fine in his exhibit made for the nine months ending March 31, 1892, which covers the entire tin-plate product of the country since the increased duty was proclaimed, October 6, 1890,, he includes 718,600 pounds of tin and terne plate, heavier than 63 pounds to the 100 square feet. This is a dexterous feat to drag in galvanized roofing iron, with a touch of tin and without weight limit, into the Government tables, and which Agent Ayres himself admits have no more pertinence in the exhibits than would pig-iron or steel rails. Yet this deception is by no means as flagrant an abuse of official discretion as another scheme divulged to the practical tin-plate consumer who studies these official statistics.

Under the head "62½ pounds per 100 square feet" is another devised scheme for letting into the exhibits 861,823 pounds more of roofing iron. A novice will detect at once that 100 square feet of any kind of sheet iron or steel, coated with either tin, lead or spelter, will not weigh exactly as much as another 100 square feet so coated. The agent explains that this item in the catalogue "means a particular brand." When brands and not weights are accepted, the broad field of political discretion is sure to invite biased returns. Doubtless this technical opportunity to brand instead of weight was intended to quiet conscientious scruples in market returns.

These two items barred, the aggregate amount of American tin and terne plate returned by the Government reports is reduced one-third. Subtract from the remainder the returns of concerns whose reported tin-plate products were consumed in their own shops, and not therefore commercial plates, and the exhibits become a pitiable pretense or sham. Allowing the full returns, and what a stultifying business proposition is exposed; 49,000 boxes, the whole American product up to date, would last American consumers twenty-two hours. While this industrial poorhouse has been producing this small amount of products the American consumers have been taxed $20,736,808.80 in enhanced price and duty for its support, nearly $1,000,000,000 for every hour's consumption of tin plates furnished."

Thus the net result is the production of 5,000,000 pounds of tin plate at a cost to the people of $2 a pound. No wonder that Congressman Shively demanded that an article so precious should hereafter be measured by Troy weight. Mr. Shively said further: "Black sheets may be hot-rolled in Wales, pickled in Wales, annealed in Wales, cold-rolled in Wales, boxed and imported by one of our tin-plate manufacturers into this country, dipped in imported tin by imported labor, and returned to the Government as tin plate produced in the United States." The Treasury figures giving the importations of black sheets since the tin-plate tax went into effect afford a very strong presumption that precisely that process has been followed in the production of our two days' supply. In 1889, but 6,246 pounds of such plates were imported; in 1890, only 2,208; in 1891, 1,339,582 pounds, and for the nine months ending March 31, 1892, more than 5,400,000 pounds. It is certainly a suggestive fact that the American product of tin plate for the last quarter should be returned at 3,004,087 pounds, and during the same months the importations of black plates should turn out to be 3,657,708 pounds. The inference is irresistible, in face of the practical absence of such importations in 1889 and 1890, that our "American tin plate" is made just in the way described by Mr. Shively.

Another valuable result of his analysis of the Treasury figures was the proof of the utter untrustworthiness of the returns made on the head of capital invested. No. 1 on the list of factories gave its investment as $25,000, and estimated yearly capacity as 2,500,000 pounds; No. 3, investment, $20,000; capacity, 4,000,000 pounds; No. 7, investment, $2,000; capacity, 750,000 pounds. Mr. Shively pertinently inquired:

"If with an investment of $2,000 each dollar produces 375 pounds of tin plate, and with an investment of $20,000 each dollar produces 200 pounds of tin plate, and with an investment of $25,000 each dollar produces 100 pounds of tin plate, how large must the investment be that each dollar produce no tin plate at all!"

It was perfectly evident that this entire part of the figures was pure guesswork. Many rolling-mills that had annexed a tin-plate department apparently reported the value of their whole plant as the amount of their "investment" in the manufacture of tin plate. Thus ex-Congressman Niedringhaus returned an investment of $400,000, but on July 5, a St. Louis paper contained the following item: "The tin-plate department of the Niedringhaus rolling-mills was burned early this morning, entailing a loss of $15,000, fully insured." Similarly the Coates mill at Baltimore was burned, and the owners reported a loss of $50,000, though they had returned their investment to the Treasury at $150,000.

We have seen that the pretensions of the Republican party to have created this industry are nothing but sham and fraud. If we examine the effects of this fraud upon the consumers of tin plate, upon farm products and upon labor, we shall have completed the exposure of one more Republican job to rob the people for the benefit of a few favored speculators.

Effect on Labor.

Letters recently sent out by the Association of Consumers of Tin Plates to its members inquiring as to the effect of the advance in duty on plates on their

business elicited a flood of letters in reply, more than one hundred in number, not one of which claimed that the increased duty was advantageous, 95 per cent. of which boldly claimed that the effect has been most damaging. The most amazing showings are from eight can-making establishments, one of which is the largest in the United States, and all of them within the twenty-five largest. We submit the summary:

Amount Paid for Labor during the First Quarter of 1891 *and* 1892.

No.	1891.	1892.
1	$7,844 40	$5,091 55
2	9,668 00	253 50
3	16,800 00	11,300 00
4	4,084 77	2,536 62
5	7,640 00	4,890 00
6	20,000 00	9,600 00
7	8,280 00	3,002 21
8	8,259 30	3,117 31
Total	82,576 47	39,791 18

Net result: Loss to labor, $42,785.29.

Effects on Consumers.

The canning industry, which consumes over one-half of all the tin plate imported, becomes the principal victim, because it has no alternative but to pay the increased tax or go out of the business. This industry emanates from the farm and its profit is in preserving perishable farm products and the surplus of glutted markets.

There are 1,200 canning concerns in the United States, scattered over the productive fields of twenty-five different States. Adding to these the meat, fish and oyster packers, we have an industry of 2,000 concerns, affected by this legislation, of growers, pickers, stock-raisers, ranchmen, oystermen, fishermen, canners, packers, laborers, box and label manufacturers, can-makers, and shippers, which stands for the support and sustenance of 2,000,000 of ourpeople.

On a basis of tin consumed by canners during the season of 1891 there were 1,260,000,000 cans used. Computing the amount, to be safe, at a round 1,000,000,000, and assuming that two-thirds were 2-pound cans, and one-third 3-pound, which is the usual proportion, we have a duty cost in the cans used of $7,898,000.

At the prices ruling in 1891 this vast sum represents the cost to consumers of 3,500,000 cases of corn. To pack this amount of corn would require the product of from 60,000 to 70,000 acres of land, and would pay the farmer and his laborers $2,500,000. The total labor employed in growing, picking, canning, packing, can-making, labeling and boxing this amount of canned goods would not fall short of 40,000 people during the canning season, or half that number during the whole year. Here then is a tariff tax which would pension off 20,000 on living wages now deprived of a chance to earn their living.

Effect on Farmers.

A bushel of tomatoes in New York will fill on an average 15 cans. A ton of tomatoes, therefore, fills 500 cans. Five tons of tomatoes to the acre is a

good average. The duty cost in cans per ton, therefore, is $4.50, and per acre it is $22.50. The price paid the farmer in most States is $6 per ton, hence the farmer has this sublime summary of protection presented for his practical consideration. In the absence of any duty on plates the canner could pay him $52.50 instead of $30 per acre for his tomatoes, an increase of 70 per cent. This is a loss to the farmer of 13½ cents per bushel. We have known farmers, irrespective of politics, to enter into a justifiable combination and strike for an advance of 2½ cents per bushel.

The average yield of corn per acre is 3 tons, which, at $6 per ton, nets the farmer $18; the duty cost on the cans to put up an acre of corn is $11.61. In the absence of a tariff on tin plates the farmer could receive 64 per cent. more for his crop and the canner still be able to sell his goods at the same price.

The largest packing State in the Union is Maryland. Harford County, Md., alone had in 1883 three hundred canneries. A memorial presented to the Maryland delegation in Congress in 1883 by a committee appointed by the packers of that county recites:

> Confining our attention to the tomato and corn pack alone, the raw material to produce the 1,500,000 cases or 36,000,000 cans required for the product of 10,000 acres of tomatoes and 5,000 acres of corn, involving an outlay for agricultural labor of $200,000. In making the cans there were consumed 130,000 boxes of plate, requiring an outlay of $135,000 in labor in this branch of the industry, while the labor of preparing the vegetables, filling the cans, processing, boxing and shipping necessitated a further outlay of $900,000.
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> Tin plate is the only material yet discovered that is adapted to the purpose of preserving food hermetically sealed for an indefinite period. The properties which fit it for this purpose are its lightness, its cleanliness, its non-corrosiveness, its cheapness, and the facility with which it may be transported without breakage.

A low estimate of the output of Maryland on all canned products for 1891 was 5,000,000 cases (this estimate is made by one of the oldest packing-houses in the State, Numsen & Co.). Assuming that one-third were 3*d.* and two-thirds 2*s.*, the tariff cost in the cans would amount to over $948,000, nearly a million dollars as a license for marketing the farmers' products in Maryland.

That State raised 3,000 acres of tomatoes alone for the canneries in 1891, or 450,000 bushels, for which the growers received $90,000. The tax or license for the packages for conveying that amount of food from the farmers' fields to the tables of the consumer, levied by the fostering hand of Government, amounts to $59,150, or more than half as much as the farmer received for his crop. Yet this is only a specimen of the insidious thievery going on under cover of tariff manipulations to the impoverishment of the farmers of Delaware. That State packs fine peaches and other fruits, as well as corn, pease, and beans.

With free tin plates a business revolution among the canneries would take place; the farmer could get 25 per cent. of this tariff tax added to the price of his tomatoes and other products; the laborer could get 25 per cent. of this tariff tax added to his labor; consumers would get 50 per cent. of the tax through a reduction in the cost of his canned food. This reduction in prices would increase their consumption 25 per cent., which means a larger home market and more acreage of the products for the farmer.

Again, the Senate Committee's report on their measure says: "The framers have not hesitated to erect or maintain defensive barriers which will carry confidence and comfort into American homes." Yet we have here the spectacle

presented of the value of 10,000 car loads of canned tomatoes or 7,000 car loads of canned corn thus added by law to the cost of the cans, which would only go to swell the dump heap where the goods are served; while men by thousands ask in vain for a day's work.

In the packing of meats and lard the tariff on tinned plates involves a waste of production nearly as surprising. The meat packers of the country used for covering their products during the year ending March 1, 1891, over 600,000 boxes of tin plate, about equally divided between meats and lard. Of the meats one-half were consumed in this country, lard three-fourths. This would show that the contents of 475,090 boxes were consumed at home. The amount of duty paid on these is $1,125,750.

This would have paid for 56,287 more head of steers, which would have required over a million acres of ranch land to graze and would have paid the farmer $20 per head. And the number of people who could have been maintained by this increase of stock-raising, packing and marketing would more than equal the number of persons who could live off the tinned plate industry of the world, carried on after the present status of the industry in America. Thus in trying to subsidize into existence a new industry which is confessedly not self-supporting, and which under the wildest estimate would not give employment to over 10,000 people, we are actually cutting off from an established, self-supporting industry, a natural and assured expansion which would give employment to 30.000 people, and the raw material consumed by the latter, which would come from the farms, is ten times an offset for the raw material demanded by the former, which would come from the mines.

This estimate of waste is based upon the present status of the canning industry. The damage thus done to the developments of the industry it is impossible to estimate. It is estimated that in our own country 10,000,000 people go hungry continually, while 30,000,000 more gauge their purchase of food products in self-denial. As long as the wants of 40,000,000 people are unsupplied there can be no practical surplus in an acceptable food product, and the market for canned goods consumed is therefore gauged strictly by price. The National Canned Goods Association, observing the close relation between price and consumption, computes that 1 cent per can, which is 24 cents per case (more than a jobber's profit), will naturally curtail consumption 25 per cent. to the laboring classes, who are the principal patrons of canned goods. Here, then, from restricted development alone, the tinned plate tariff affects disastrously over 500,000 people, as proprietors, growers, producers and laborers.

As the only use of the can is as a means to transport farm produce to those who consume them, this done it is thrown away as worthless. To increase the cost of the can by a tariff on tin plate, is, therefore, precisely the same in its effect as to add to the cost of any other item of transportation, and the McKinley law increasing such cost is therefore as directly against the farmers' interests as would be a special license to railroads to charge extra freight for farm produce.

The following extract from an interview had with Messrs. F. G. Ehle & Co., manufacturers of compartment dinner pails, of Buffalo, N. Y., expresses the views of consumers of tin plate in every section of the country from California to Massachusetts, and from Louisiana to Minnesota, from whom hundreds of letters have been received. It serves as the finishing touch to this exposé, and needs no further comment:

Effect on Consumers and on Labor in Industries Affected.

"What has been the effect of the McKinley law upon your business?" asked a representative of the *Courier*, of Mr. Ehle yesterday.

"First," Mr. Ehle answered, "it has caused a loss to me of from 60 to 75 per cent. on the tin plate which I used for raw material. The duty on tin plate amounts to about 40 per cent. Then for about two months before the tin-plate duty of 2 1-5 cents a pound went into effect last July, importers in this country, to take advantage of the lower rate of duty of 1 cent a pound then existing, ordered vast quantities of tin plate from the English manufacturers, who filled the orders with such speed that they turned out a product so imperfect as to increase the waste to the manufacturers 20 to 25 per cent.

"Secondly," continued Mr. Ehle, "IT HAS RUINED MY EXPORT TRADE. I have samples of my work in different places all over Europe and in other foreign countries, and have a great many opportunities to fill orders, but I can't do it. Why? Because under our tariff laws we are not entitled to a rebate on small orders. You see there is a provision which entitles a manufacturer who exports under a single order manufactured goods made from imported raw material in so large a quantity that the duty on raw material entering into that order amounts to $50 or more, a rebate of 99 per cent. On smaller shipments no drawback at all is allowed. I am not entitled to rebate on my foreign shipments unless the order is worth well, about $400. Now, what foreign jobber wants $400 worth of one kind of dinner pails at once? Very few, and they cannot be asked to buy in large quantities just to accommodate the manufacturer. The consequence is we can not afford to fill the smaller and by far the majority of the orders.

"Besides," said Mr. Ehle, "there is a little trick about this rebate which works a great hardship to the manufacturer, even when he is entitled to a rebate. On the 20th of last month we wrote to the custom-house officers here in Buffalo asking them to correct what we supposed was a mistake they had made. We had previously shipped to Canada a quantity of dinner pails, on which we had used up 6,317 pounds of tin plate imported under the 1 per cent. duty. The total duty, as we figured and paid it, was $63.17. We asked for a rebate of 99 per cent., which was $62.53. The custom-house officials sent us a check for $34.74. We asked them to correct the mistake, and though they gave no satisfactory explanation, we learn that they deducted from our claim the material wasted in the manufacture of those pails, although we had paid the duty on that waste material. The result is, we received $27.79 less than we think, in common justice, we should have had. That was under the old duty of 1 cent a pound. What must it be under the present duty of 2 1-5 cents a pound? of course we cannot export under such circumstances."

"Why don't you buy the American tin plate?" Mr. Ehle was asked.

"We can't get it," he replied. "We have written a number of letters inquiring about it, and out of them all we have received four samples. One concern sent us a sample which is really of a very good quality, and offered to fill an order, but at a price which it was simply impossible to pay."

"Have you imported any tin plate since the 2 1-5 cents duty went into effect?"

"Bless you, yes. Last month alone we used about 25 tons of tin plate, imported under the present duty, and we are a small concern. On that quantity of 25 tons we paid a duty of $44 a ton, or, in all, $1,100. Taking the year through, we import on an average about 19 tons a month. Figure that up, and you see we pay about $10,032 a year duty on tin plate. That means that forty or forty-five hands in my employ have to earn $10,000 a year. Wouldn't it be better if I could have that to divide with my employees?"

Asked if protection stimulates inventions, Mr. Ehle said emphatically:

"No; it stimulates monopoly. It drives men with small capital out of business and gives to the wealthy manufacturer an additional advantage. He can afford to spend out of hand large sums of money for inventions and new machinery. The tariff gives him an advantage over his poorer competitor in that respect, just as it does when it gives him, on his large shipments to foreign countries, a rebate of 99 per cent., while the poor man, trying to fill small orders, gets no rebate at all. Besides, would not invention be better stimulated without a tariff, when manufacturers would have so many orders to fill that they could not get hands enough to do the work without improved machinery? I know that with tin plate free of duty I should employ at least 145 hands instead of 45."

TARIFF EVOLUTION.

GROWTH OF THE HIGH PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

THE TRUE BENEFICIARIES OF PROTECTION.

The adoption of the Constitution, in 1789, which established free trade between the States also abolished all State tariffs. The Act of 1789, uniting all the States into a single zollverein, was distinctively a revenue tariff and was enacted as quickly as possible in order to take advantage of the early importations and secure a revenue for the Government. It imposed high duties on luxuries and low rates on the necessaries of life. Few articles were enumerated; on all non-enumerated articles the rate was five per cent. As a revenue tariff it was systematized in 1790, and amended from time to time down to 1812 by increasing or lowering the rates as the necessities of the revenue demanded.

The embargo and the war of 1812 stopped importations as effectually as a prohibitive tariff could have done. The stimulus thus given to all manufacturing enterprises, together with that given to agriculture by the continued foreign demand for breadstuffs, and the inflation of the currency, brought on an era of speculation and high prices.

The tariff of 1824 increased duties and in 1825 commercial depression resulted.

The prices of all agricultural products fell to a lower level than they had ever been before; the growth of shipping was retarded; manufactures, especially that of wool, were depressed. Complaints arose on all sides, leading up to the convention of Harrisburg, and its demand for still higher duties. The tariff of 1828 was enacted, and while it enabled high profits to be made in a few branches of industry, its effects were so universally bad in other directions that the friends as well as the enemies of protection were glad to get rid of it in 1832.

Loud complaints were made against the compromise tariff of 1833, providing for successive reductions of duties. It was predicted that its effects would be disastrous. But the years from 1833 to 1842 were years of wonderful progress in every direction. During this period the iron industry was freed from the shackles of old methods, and by the adoption of new ones, was so stimulated that the production of iron was more than doubled in ten years. Farm products commanded higher prices than at any previous period since 1816, and the cotton and woolen industries were acknowledged to have yielded

fair profits. Public improvements were undertaken, and excellent systems of transportation by roads, canals and railways projected.

The return to protective duties in 1842 was marked by great depression in every branch of industry in 1843. During the four years in which this tariff was in force the prices of farm products were lower than they had ever been before. Wheat, which had averaged $1.35 per bushel from 1833 to 1842, fell to an average of $1.02 per bushel from 1843 to 1846; cotton was never lower in price since the formation of the Government than it was in these four years.

The Walker Tariff.

The low tariff of 1846, and the still lower tariff of 1857, was followed by an era of constant growth and prosperity. All agricultural products rose in price and remained high. At the same time manufactures flourished and prospered, wages rose, wealth increased, especially in farming sections; the fourteen years previous to 1861 are acknowledged on all sides to have been the most prosperous years since the United States became a nation. Instead of demanding higher duties, protectionists united with their opponents in advocating the tariff of 1857.

As a sample of the great textile manufactures that were started during the low tariff era, 1846–1860, the following may be mentioned: Atlantic mills in 1849; Lyman mills, at Holyoke, in 1854; Naumkeag steam cotton mills, at Salem, in 1847; Pepperell mills, at Biddeford, in 1852; Bates mills, at Lewiston, in 1852; Hill Manufacturing Company, at Lewiston, in 1855; Franklin Company, at Lewiston, in 1857.

That manufacturing prospered is shown not only by the establishment of new mills, but by the handsome profits made by the old ones. In 1846 the Amoskeag declared dividends of 25 per cent. in stock and 10 per cent. in cash, in 1847 it declared 25 per cent. in stock and 5 per cent. in cash, and in 1849 it declared 20 per cent. in stock and 3 per cent. in cash; there were but few half years from that time to 1860 in which it did not pay semi-annual dividends. A panic occurred in 1857, and the Bay State mills at Lawrence failed, but so, under a high tariff, did a panic occur in 1873, and in 1889 some very important mills failed.

Notwithstanding these facts, which are matters of history, Republican leaders assert that the United States owe their prosperity to high tariffs, and have always suffered under low tariffs.

On September 30, 1888, Mr. Blaine said in New York:

> This country, under low tariff, inviting sharp competition and large importations from abroad, has never prospered; but every such attempt has ended in financial and industrial disaster, prostrating every interest, most of all the agricultural, and operating without exceptions with peculiar severity upon the wage-earner.

If we drop Mr. Blaine, on September 30, 1888, stump speaker for protection, and consider Mr Blaine the historian, we shall see that the Walker low tariffs of 1846 and 1857 were followed by unexampled prosperity. In his "Twenty Years in Congress," Mr. Blaine says:

> The free trade tariff of 1846 was passed, and Mr. Dallas, who had been nominated because of his record as a protectionist, was subjected to the humiliation of giving his casting vote, as Vice-

President, in favor of a tariff which was executed in Pennsylvania. The Whig victory of 1848 was not sufficiently decisive to warrant an attempt, even had there been a desire, to change the tariff. Moreover, the tariff of 1846 was yielding abundant revenue, and the business of the country was in a flourishing condition at the time his administration was organized. Money became very abundant after the year 1849; large enterprises were undertaken, speculation was prevalent, and for a considerable period the prosperity of the country was general, and apparently genuine. After 1852 the Democrats had almost undisputed control of the Government, and had gradually become a free trade party. The principles embodied in the tariff of 1846 seemed for the time to be so entirely vindicated and approved that resistance to it ceased, not only among the people, but among the protective economists, and even among the manufacturers to a large extent. So general was this acquiescence that, in 1856, a protective tariff was not suggested or even hinted by any one of the three parties which presented Presidential candidates.

It was not surprising, therefore, that with a plethoric condition of the National Treasury for two or three consecutive years, the Democratic Congress, in the closing session of Pierce's administration, enacted what has since been known as the tariff of 1857. By this law the duties were placed lower than they had been at any time since the war of 1812. The act was well received by the people, and, indeed, was concurred in by a considerable proportion of the Republican party.

The following table shows the effects of the low tariffs of 1846 to 1860 on exports and imports:

	Domestic Exports.	Net Imports.		Duties Collected.	Ad valorem Rate Free and Dutiable. Per cent.	Ad valorem Rate Dutiable only. Per cent.
		Free.	Dutiable.			
1847.....	$150,574,844	$15,838,500	$100,419,095	$28,137,923	22.98	26.86
1848.....	130,203,709	14,946,012	125,705,826	33,034,306	22.22	24.97
1849.....	131,710,081	13,710,610	118,854,498	31,027,772	21.97	24.73
1850.....	134,900,233	15,982,458	148,051,575	40,181,813	23.16	25.85
1851.....	178,620,138	17,910,930	182,565,378	48,626,600	23.07	25.44
1852.....	154,931,147	21,649,731	173,737,583	47,577,633	22.94	25.96
1853.....	189,869,169	24,732,613	225,424,532	58,467,815	23.37	25.93
1854.....	215,328,300	22,552,835	253,535,495	64,931,607	23.52	25.61
1855.....	192,751,135	29,913,974	201,736,356	54,119,677	23.36	26.82
1856.....	266,438,051	49,603,470	246,047,468	64,084,401	21.68	26.05
1857.....	278,906,713	49,942,107	283,569,188	63,664,864	19 09	22.45
1858.....	251,351,033	55,292,929	187,385,484	42,046,722	17.33	22.44
1859.....	278,392,080	66,856,406	249,966,964	48,894,684	15.43	19.56
1860.....	316,242,423	68,391,038	267,891,447	52,692,421	15.67	19.67

The low tariff of 1857 was superseded in 1861 by the Morrill tariff, a war tariff pure and simple, and so avowed by its author and supporters. Extraordinary revenues were needed to carry on the war, hence the necessity of extraordinary measures to raise those revenues, and the country submitted to the Morrill tariff. In 1867 the extraordinary revenues were no longer needed, but the extraordinary high duties imposed by the Morrill tariff, so far from being reduced, were actually increased.

This increase took the form of special bills in the interest of the woolen manufacturers and the copper producers. Every attempt to reduce the war tariffs was successfully met by the manufacturers. Not until 1883 was an attempt at reduction successful, but even in the law of that year many rates were advanced above those prevailing during the war. The period covered by these tariff measures, from the bills of 1867 to the McKinley tariff of 1890, has been characterized by the rise of trusts and combinations aiming primarily at

the suppression of competition and the exaction from consumers of all the bonus which the tariff allows. In nearly every one of the protected industries one or more of these trusts hold sway.

THE COST OF PROTECTION.

The effect of a protection tariff is to raise the price of the commodity protected above that at which it could be imported duty free. If it fails to do this it fails to accomplish its object. The protection theory is that the increase a protective duty causes in the price at which an imported commodity can be sold within the country, protects the home producer of a like commodity from foreign competition, so as to encourage him by larger profits than he could otherwise get to engage in or increase production. The cost, then, of a protective duty to the people at large is: 1st, the tax upon imported goods, plus the profits upon the tax; and 2d, the additional prices that must be paid for the products of the protected home industry. The fact cannot be gainsaid that protection does raise the prices of protected goods in the home market. The comparison is not to be made between prices as they are now in this country and as they were twenty or forty years ago also in this country, for this would show only the general march of improvements in this country; but a comparison is to be made between prices in this country to-day and present prices in foreign countries. Does, for instance, the tariff increase the price of woolen goods and clothing far beyond what the price would be if the duty on imported woolens were removed? The very existence of a protective duty is the answer to this. If the duty does not raise the price, then why does the woolen industry wish a continuance of the duties? If goods can be sold as cheaply here as foreign goods, why do protectionists want any duties? The duties are intended to keep foreign goods out of our markets, and they would be unnecessary if our goods could be sold as cheaply as the foreign wares.

The Hon. William M. Springer has furnished some figures to this country for the year 1882 and the year 1891 on the total cost of the protection policy which are startling in their magnitude. From his showing the fact is brought out that the American people have paid during the ten years from 1882 to 1892 the enormous sum of $6,000,000,000 in increased prices, mostly for the necessities of life, in order that they might have the supreme felicity of knowing that their generosity had enabled some favored individuals to become millionaires and had given birth to that long-felt want, the tariff trust, of which there are now over a hundred in this country owing their existence directly to the tariff, and whose sole object is to limit production and keep prices up to the highest point permitted by the tariff.

Senator Carlisle in his speech in the Senate, July 24, 1892, showed with the utmost clearness the great cost imposed by the tariff. He said:

> To present this subject in both these aspects the committee has investigated what are called the budgets of expenditures of a very large number of families in this country, selected as fairly representative of the whole number of families of the laboring people, who receive wages ranging from $500 to $1,000 per annum, and we found that, omitting rent (which was not investigated and which therefore has no proper place in these calculations), the various groups of articles enter into the consumption of the people in the following proportions, this result

being reached after the examination of thirteen different presentations of the subject by labor bureaus and other experts :

Food, 48.30 per cent.; fuel, 5.89 per cent.; lighting, 1.06 per cent.; clothing, 18.02 per cent.; and all other expenditures, 26.73 per cent.

Assuming—and this is undoubtedly approximately correct—that these groups of articles of consumption were used by the people in the proportions here stated, we have a table, made by Prof. Faulkner, the statistician of the committee, from which we can ascertain with reasonable accuracy, at least, how much the cost of living of the people in the United States was increased during the period investigated.

Mr. President, there have been many attempts made to ascertain the total annual expenditures of the people of the United States for articles of consumption.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, a gentleman who has given this subject a great deal of thought, estimates from our census reports and other data, that of the total population of 65,000,000 people in the United States, 23,000,000 are engaged in what are called gainful occupations, earning wages or salaries, and that the average annual income of these 23,000,000 people, upon which they and all the other people of the United States depend for support, is $600, making for the year $13,800,000,000. Deducting 6 per cent. from that for Federal, State and municipal taxes, and 10 per cent. for savings or additions to the permanent wealth of the country, there is left $11,582,000,000 to be expended by the people for their support.

Hon. D. A. Wells, by a different process, arrives at the conclusion, after deducting 6 per cent. for taxes and 10 per cent. for permanent savings or additions to the wealth of the people, that there remains to be expended for their support the sum of $11,957,400,000, or a little more than Mr. Atkinson estimates, but Mr. Wells thinks that his own estimate may be somewhat too large.

I have made a calculation, based upon the relative expenditure for sugar as exhibited in the report of the committee, which shows that, excluding taxes and rent, the people expend for all articles of consumption $8,580,000,000 annually, which I think is too small a sum because of the fact that, in my opinion, the families whose consumption the committee ascertained were not quite up to the average in the matter of expenditures for that article in its various forms. The investigation doubtless shows with tolerable accuracy the proportions in which the various articles enter into the consumption of the class of families embraced in the inquiry, but the amount of expenditure per capita, as shown by the returns, is less than 29 cents per day for taxes, food, clothing, furniture, utensils, religion, charity, amusements, books, tobacco, intoxicating liquors, and on account of sickness, and everything else which enters into the cost of living in this country, which I think must be very considerably under the average, taking the rich and poor altogether.

But Mr. President, why should taxes be wholly excluded in these investigations to ascertain the amount expended for commodities? The public revenues are largely expended in the payment of salaries and pensions, and in the purchase of supplies for the army and navy and other branches of the public service, Federal, State, and municipal, so that finally nearly the whole sum of our taxation is used either by the Government or by those who receive it from the Government in the purchase of the commodities which enter into the cost of living. But in order to be conservative in my estimate, I have excluded all taxes, Federal, State, and municipal, and now let us see what the result of all these investigations is. Taking the three amounts as found by Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Wells, and the estimate based upon the investigation of the committee, the average is $10,706,466,000, which, in my opinion, is not in excess of the total amount expended annually by the 65,000,000 people in the United States to defray the cost living, exclusive of taxes. But in order to be certainly within the limit, I will assume that $10,000,000,000 is the total yearly expenditure for that purpose, and upon this basis I propose to show to the Senate what was the aggregate increase in the prices of commodities, and in the cost of living to the people of the United States during the period covered by the investigation.

If $10,000,000,000 represents the annual expenditures for commodities, then $833,333,333 represents the monthly expenditures, and as we have the increase of prices according to the importance of the articles stated by quarters, the result is not difficult to ascertain.

This is the table heretofore referred to, and it requires no explanation except to say that the second column shows the increase in the cost of living at the end of each quarter over what it was at the beginning of the period :

Increase by Quarters.

Quarters.	All articles simply averaged.	All articles averaged according to importance.	All articles except butter, eggs, potatoes and vegetables, averaged according to importance.
Last quarter, 1889	100.26	101.11	99.99
First quarter, 1890	100.96	101.80	100.11
Second quarter, 1890	100.59	100.61	99.76
Third quarter, 1890	99 99	100.48	99.59
Fourth quarter, 1890	100.43	101.83	99.95
First quarter, 1891	101 28	103.57	100.38
Second quarter, 1891	100.94	103.15	99.61
Third quarter, 1891	99.56	99.85	98.95

These quarters are stated according to the calendar year, not the fiscal year of the United States. Assuming, as I think we may with considerable confidence, that $10,000,000,000 represents the annual expenditure for commodities, we find that during the last quarter of the year 1889 the increased cost of living over and above what it was during the third quarter of that year, the quarter which was taken as a basis of the investigation, was $27,750,000. For the first quarter of the year 1890 the cost of living over and above what it was during the first quarter covered by the investigation was $45,000,000. For the second quarter of the year 1890 it was $15,250,000, and I desire to call attention here to the fact that during the second quarter of the year 1890, before the passage of the McKinley act, the cost of living fell considerably below what it was at the end of the first quarter. The third quarter, which closed October 1, 1890, the very day on which the McKinley act was approved, the increase was $12,000,000; but during the next quarter, immediately following the passage of the act, the increase was $45,750,000. The next quarter the cost of living was still going up, and the increase was $89,250,000; but the next, the cost having begun to decline somewhat from the point it had reached, it was $53,750,000; making in the aggregate the cost of living to the people of the United States during the period covered by this investigation $288,750,000.

Mr. GEORGE—How long?

Mr. CARLISLE—For twenty-four months, excluding September, 1889, and the three which were taken as a basis. The increased cost of living to the people of the United States during that twenty-four months was $288,750,000; but during the last quarter covered by this investigation, taking the three months together, there was a slight decline of fifteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent. in the cost of living, amounting to $3,750,000, which I have deducted from the gross sum, showing a net increase in the cost of living of $285,000,000, the largest proportion of which, or $185,000,000, occurred after the passage of the McKinley act; and a large part of the $100,000,000 increase which occurred before that time is directly attributable to the fact that the bill was pending in Congress with almost absolute knowledge on the part of the people that it would pass and become a law.

Mr. A. B. FARQUHAR in his recent work, "Economic and Industrial Delusions," estimates the cost of protection to the iron and steel industries in this country for the ten years, 1879 to 1888. He says:

"In a recent article, the editor of the New York *Tribune* tries to break the force of Mr. Roger Q. Mill's exposure in the *North American Review* of the misstatements of Mr. James G. Blaine in the same periodical by what purports to be an analysis of the prices of steel rails in this country and in Great Britain. The *Tribune*, following its habit in such cases, imputes to Mr. Mills the theory that because a duty is placed upon a foreign product—steel rails, for instance—the price upon the domestic product is advanced in equal measure. Mr. Mills, it need hardly be said, holds no such foolish idea, and nothing of the kind can be found in his reply to Mr. Blaine. What he does hold and prove is that in

certain specific years the price of domestic steel rails has been held above the price in Great Britain in a sum equal to duties and freights, or even higher."

Year.	U. S. Product, Tons.	British Price.	U. S. Price.	Difference.	Excess of Cost.
1879.....	683,965	$26 88	$48 25	$21 37	$14,616,519
1880.....	954,460	34 42	67 40	32 98	31,478,090
1881.....	1,330,302	30 41	61 13	30 72	40,865,877
1882.....	1,438,155	26 27	48 50	22 23	31,970,185
1883.....	1,286,554	22 72	37 75	15 03	19,336,906
1884.....	1,116,621	23 19	30 75	7 56	8,441,654
1885.....	1,074,607	23 11	28 50	5 39	5,792,131
1886.....	1,763,667	18 70	34 50	15 80	27,865,386
1887.....	2,354,132	19 70	37 08	17 38	40,914,814
1888.....	1,592,631	19 15	29 63	10 63	16,582,039
Total.....	13,555,094	.....	.....	.....	$236,861,462

"Since the *Tribune* has provoked the discussion it becomes suitable to make use of the comparative prices of steel rails from 1879 to 1888 in rejoinder. These years will be chosen for treatment, because in them the prices in both countries have been upon a gold basis, all previous comparisons since 1861 being vitiated by our depreciated currency.

In this period the Bessemer rail production in the United States was very heavy, as shown in the table. The American and British prices, given by the *Tribune* on the authority of the Iron and Steel Association, and their difference, are then shown, and the excess of cost to the consumers of rails in this country is easily computed.

On examining the *Tribune* prices, I am led to believe that the American price belongs to the net ton of 2,000 pounds only. On the other hand, since British dealings are in gross tons, the British price stated is doubtless the price of a gross ton of 2,240 pounds. If this exact allowance were made it would add about eleven per cent. to the excess. The measure of the disadvantage of this country is quite sufficient, taking the *Tribune's* figures as they are, and we may, therefore, dismiss the fraction of 240 pounds per ton without further consideration. Even if the correction were to be made the other way, the excess paid in this country would be about $200,000,000 in ten years. Opponents may take it so, and then disprove the fact if they can, that the cost of building up this comparatively petty branch of domestic industry—petty in respect both to value of product and to number of men employed therein—has been substantially as given below: $70,000,000 to $80,000,000 a year against the consumers of this country, and in favor of the consumers of iron and steel who have been supplied by Great Britain.

The total domestic production of Bessemer steel in this period was 18,907,086 tons. It may be assumed that the difference in price on the remainder of the steel has been at least equal to that upon rails. This, being computed year by year at the relative difference of each year, adds $81,696,361, making the total difference in ten years, between the price of British and American Bessemer metal, $318,560,813. If the British mines and works could have supplied the United States with 18,907,086 tons of Bessemer metal between 1879 and 1888, inclusive, at British prices (as they could not), it would have cost us $318,560,-

813 less than we actually paid. From January 1, 1879, to July 1, 1883, the duty on Bessemer rails was $28 per ton; since July 1, 1883, it has been $17 per ton. Had the whole rate of duty been added to the British price on our domestic product, the disparity in the cost of Bessemer metal to our customers would have been $318,566,177, but $71,005,864 more than the actual disparity. The freight charges and insurance are computed by the *Tribune* at $3 per ton, or $56,721,258 in all, leaving for the unnecessary excess of cost ofBessemer metal in the United States, as compared to Great Britain, $261,839,555.

So much for the cost of developing the Bessemer steel industry in the United States by means of a tax on British steel, on the hypothesis that must necessarily be made if we are to ascribe the development of our customs to legislation.

To comprehend the cost of developing the production of crude iron and steel of all kinds in the United States from 3,070,885 tons in 1879 to over 8,000,000 in 1890, a computation must be made for iron as well as for steel. Our production of pig-iron was, from 1879 to 1888, inclusive, 62,373,470 tons; of which about 20,273,470 tons may have been converted into 18,907,686 tons of Bessemer rails and other forms of that metal, leaving 42,000,000 tons of pig-iron for other uses. Throughout this period the average price of American pig-iron was at least $10 per ton above that of British iron of the same quality at furnace—42,000,000 tons at $10, $420,000,000. A freight charge of $3 per ton might have been paid, if British mines and works could have supplied the quality of metal, amounting to $126,000,000, leaving the net excess of price $294,000,000. This gives us:

Additional cost of Bessemer steel	$262,000,000
Additional cost of pig-iron	294,000,000
Total	$556,000,000

These figures confirm the estimates of Messrs. Edward Atkinson and David A. Wells, each covering a slightly different decade and computed on a different basis. In addition to our domestic product, however, we have required about 17,000,000 tons of iron in the years 1879 to 1888, which we have imported in the forms of ore, pig bar, rails, tin plates, machinery, and hardware, and upon which duties of about $200,000,000 have been collected. It therefore follows, that if the British or foreign mines and works could have supplied this country with iron and steel during the last ten years under consideration—1879 to 1888—without any advance in the prices in Great Britain, our domestic railways, mills, works, engines, tools and machinery would have cost nearly $80,000,000 a year.

The entire capital in all the blast furnaces, rolling mills and steel works of the United States in 1880 was only $231,000,000, and probably does not now exceed $400,000,000. The ten years' excess of cost on everything into which iron and steel have entered as component materials in this country, as compared to other countries, must therefore have been double the capital now invested in all the works where these crude materials are produced."

Protectionists make strenuous efforts to break the force of these facts. The tariff advocates insist that tariff taxes are paid by the foreign producer, in order to secure for his goods admission into our markets. This being assumed a great deal else easily follows. Mr. McKinley in a campaign speech dwelt longer on this point than any other. His opponents were "in the service of foreigners," seeking to have them relieved of this payment; he himself insisted that the foreigners must pay it. "How absurd in us to pay our taxes when here is a way by which the foreigner can be made to pay them for us." "How unjust, too, to take a loyal citizen of our country, who has borne all the obligations of a citizen and leave him only the same show in the market that was allowed an alien who bore none of those obligations," etc. It is easy to build up a towering edifice when the foundation is granted; but the whole structure collapses when once the foundation is knocked from under—when once it is settled that the import tax is a charge on the goods, and that if the foreigner pays it to get them admitted, he always takes the best of care to get it back out of the user of his goods.

This aspect of the question has been dealt with by prominent Republican protectionists.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said:

"The duty constitutes a part of the price of the whole mass of the article in the market. It is substantially paid upon the article of domestic manufacture as well as upon that of foreign production. Upon one it is a bounty, upon the other a burden; and the repeal of the tax must operate as an equivalent reduction of the price of the article, whether foreign or domestic. We say, so long as the importation continues, the duty must be paid by the purchaser of the article."

Again Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE wrote in his "Twenty Years of Congress":

"Congress rendered the taxes more palatable and less oppressive to the producers (manufacturers) by largely increasing the duties on imports, by the tariff act of July 14, 1862, thus shutting out still more conclusively all competition from foreign fabrics. *The increased cost was charged to the consumer.*"

JOHN SHERMAN gave utterance to this terse phrase in a speech in 1867:

"I said it, and I stand by it, that as a general rule the duties paid upon imports operate *as a tax upon the consumer.*"

WHO DERIVES THE BENEFITS?

On page 185 of his "Economy of High Wages," Mr. Schoenhof shows what becomes of at least a portion of the tariff taxes paid by the American people:

The high profits made by the Trenton manufacturers have recently been brought to light by the prospectus of the "Trenton Potteries Company," organized by the union of five of the leading firms. Of the $3,000,000 capital, the $1,250,000 of preferred stock represents nearly the whole property, undoubtedly at the highest possible valuation. (The value of real estate, machinery, patterns, merchandise, and cash in bank is given at $1,390,000.) The $1,750,000 of common stock is, therefore, almost all water to absorb the surplus earnings over the 8 per cent. on the preferred stock. The prospectus shows that for the last three years the average earnings on the common stock were 11 per cent., and for 1891 they were 16 per cent. after providing for the expense of management. On the appraised value of the entire property, the average annual net profits for the three years 1889, 1890, and 1891 were equal to a dividend of 22¼ per cent. The net earnings for 1891 were $401,000, equal to a dividend of 29 per cent. on the same basis.

This is in singular contrast to the statement of one member of this consolidation made before the McKinley Committee on Ways and Means in the spring of 1890. Said he: "It is for you, gentlemen, to say whether this struggling industry shall be destroyed for the benefit of foreign manufacturers."

Another beneficiary of the tariff is the steel-rail maker. According to Mr. Schoenhof:

A steel mill employing 1,406 men and turning out 4,500 tons a week, and having a pay-roll of $13,680 (as taken from the amounts kindly given to me by a rail mill in 1888), would in a year produce 225,000 tons and pay out $684,000 in wages, but make a profit, on present computation, of fully $1,680,000. But with all this enormous profit guaranteed by act of Legislature, at the present rates the outlay for wages would now not be more than about $575,000 (about $2.50 a ton).

This, however, by no means exhausts the golden effects of protection to the protected enterprise. The usefulness of the tariff was seen again, after the golden shower of 1880, in its fullness in the time of brisk demand in 1887. The selling price of rails had fallen in 1886 to $28, but the demand springing up in 1887 raised the price to $40, and it averaged for the year $35. To a single concern turning out 500,000 tons a year, this extra profit guaranteed by the tariff is equal to a bonus of from $2,500,000 to $3,000,000 above the ordinary profits at the $30 price. Should the benevolent and patriotic mill-owner not urge the maintenance of this blessing to the American workman—urge it with intense eloquence and energetic zeal?

Said the Hon. Benj. Butterworth, a distinguished Republican:

"The manufacturers and the trusts get the protection and the profits of the tariff—the farmer gets the husks and the humbug."

An expression from the U. S. Supreme Court bearing on this point ought to have some weight. See 20 Wall., 657.

"To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation."

It is clear that while the masses of the American people pay for the tariff, they do not derive the benefit. A few favored monopolists are benefited by Mr. McKinley's tariff compelling Americans to pay high prices; still another beneficiary of protection is the foreigner. The Republican party, after denying that the tariff is a tax, says the foreigner pays it. So far from this being true, Americans pay high prices to enable foreigners to buy American goods at low prices. American manufacturers sell cheaper to foreigners than to Americans.

The Hon. Jeremiah M. Rusk, the Republican Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, said, in an interview in the *New York Tribune*:

"1890.—I had an opportunity to take some stock in the combination [National Harvester Trust] and I know what inducements were offered. An investigation will show that this same combination is now selling, or offering to sell, machinery in Russia and Australia and other wheat-growing countries at a lower figure than they do in this country. This won't do, and I need not offer any argument to prove the weight or truth of this assertion The first thing the farmer will do when he is acquainted with the facts will be to make a howl against trusts and protection that does not protect. Whether justly or not, he will charge it to the Republican party. I am as certain as I can be of anything that this Mower and Reaper Trust will cost the

Republican party hundreds of thousands of votes at the next Presidential election unless it takes a firm stand against it and trusts in general."

Conclusive proof of the fact that protection actually favors foreigners at the expense of Americans, is afforded by the journals devoted exclusively to the export trade in American manufactures.

The American Mail and Export Journal and *The Australasian and South American* are issued monthly, and have as their chief department a prices current, which gives the lowest price at which the goods advertised can be obtained from the manufacturers, either through commission houses or direct correspondence. The prices quoted in these journals are declared to be the rock-bottom prices for articles in small quantities, such as by the piece, dozen, case, etc. For large quantities "special" rates are frequently advertised, and in fact generally given.

One other journal, the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, publishes in its issue on the first of each month a price current with the statement that "discomforts are for export only."

The Australasian and South American publishes its prices current as a part of the regular issue of the journal; in the case of the *Mail and Export Journal* it is issued in the form of a supplement. The *Mail and Export* supplement is printed in the languages of the different countries to which it is sent, and is so carefully guarded that copies can be obtained here only through South American, etc., correspondents. The reason for these extraordinary precautions is plain enough, when it is found that the prices quoted in the *Mail and Export Journal* are generally speaking, even lower than those given in either the *Australasian* or the *Engineering and Mining Journal*. For example, Fremont cultivators (6 shovel) are advertised in the *Australasian*, at $32; while in the Spanish supplement of the *Mail and Export Journal*, the identical implement (illustrated by the same photo print) is offered at $25. Frank & Co.'s woodworking machinery is offered in the *Australasian*, at 20% discount for export; and in the *Mail and Export Journal* supplement at 25% discount, the "list" prices being identical.

The following sums up the situation:

"It is a mistake to suppose that our goods are much dearer, as a rule, than those supplied by other countries. As a matter of fact, they are often cheaper, without taking their superior qualities into consideration, this being the case particularly with the articles on which Chili has undertaken to reduce the duty.

"Nor are we under very serious disadvantages when the question of transportation arises. There are nearly always ships loading in New York and Boston for ports on the west coast of South America, and the rates of freight obtained make the shipping business a paying one, so that any number of vessels required would be quickly put on.

"As it is, we are supplying the bulk of the railroad supplies and equipment used in Chili and an equally large proportion of the telegraph plant. Our sewing machines, printing machinery, mining machinery, wood and metal working tools and agricultural implements, light hardware, woodware, etc., are popular and selling well."—*Australasian and South American*. March 1, 1890.

It seems to be time that somebody should explain how it is, if our tariff is necessary to enable our manufacturers to compete with English, French and German rivals in our own markets—whether foreigners have to pay extra transportation and our manufacturers do not—that they are spending so much money

in advertising in order to get a chance to compete with the same foreigners in free trade markets outside, to which our manufacturers have to pay as much or more freight than foreigners.

Upon the first publication of the above, there came a storm of vituperation and denial from the paid agents of certain protected manufacturers. To test the matter the *Farmers' Call*, of Quincy, Illinois, wrote Mr. A. B. Farquhar, the head of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Works, one of the leading manufacturers, both for the home trade and for export, of agricultural implements and machinery. His answer was as follows:

"July 30, 1890.

"The 'fact' is that our protective laws are a monstrous swindle upon the agricultural community. *As a manufacturer* I was inclined to say nothing on the subject, for the reason that it was natural to suppose if anybody was benefited it was the manufacturing class, to which I belong. But, as I have explained, the farmer is being destroyed. We are killing the goose for the golden egg. And I honestly believe now that it is to the interest of the manufacturers themselves to eliminate the protective feature from our tariff laws.

Certainly our manufactures are sold much lower abroad, we could only need protection to get better prices from our customers at home. We do manufacture and sell in Canada, South America and Europe many agricultural implements and machines, and could we have free raw material and the commercial advantages which free trade would give us America would become the great manufacturing emporium of the world, and the farmer of course would share the prosperity, since he would have to pay less for everything and get better prices for all he sold. Go on with your good work. When the farmer begins to think and rise up against this swindle it is doomed.

Meanwhile the *Australasian and South American* made the following admission:

"By comparing the prices at which goods are sold to the export merchant, and the catalogue rates which the ordinary purchaser pays, it is possible to show a very striking discrepancy in favor of the exporter."

but claimed that the lower prices quoted foreigners were for the wholesale trade alone; Whereupon the *World* published the following from the *Engineering and Mining Journal:*

ENGINEERING AND MINING JOURNAL,
NEW YORK, Aug. 26, 1890.

DEAR SIR: I am obliged to you for the letter of August 25 representing the proceedings taken in the Senate regarding our "Prices Current."

Prices quoted by us are, as you will notice, at the head of the first column, "for export only," and the prices therein given are the prices at which every foreign subscriber can buy in this market. It stands to reason that orders for farm implements are frequently for one only. If to buy one machine is retail trade, then these foreign prices are retail prices.

Our domestic subscribers are barred from the prices quoted in these columns. These special discounts are "For Export Only," and in more than one instance we have lost our advertiser through publishing these prices.

I enclose an invoice from S. Allen & Co., which you will see is for one of the machines quoted by us, and you will notice that it conforms exactly with our prices as reprinted by you in the *World*, and that the net price on the bill is exactly as stated by you in the *World*.

Your statement that the foreigner can buy at retail in this market cheaper than the domestic consumer, is as indisputable as the daily revolution of the earth. We can enumerate any number of instances where houses have written us: "Prices furnished are for export only, and it would be most injurious to us if these figures were circulated in the home market."

In going through our letters this morning we counted no less than fifty-eight received during

the month of July, thanking us for publishing the "Prices Current," as it enabled our subscribers to keep a check on the prices charged them on their indents,

Yours very truly,

ENGINEERING AND MINING JOURNAL.

To T. E. WILSON.

which covers every point, and is substantiated by a comparison between the main part (printed in English) of the *Mail and Export Journal*, for April, 1890, and the Spanish supplement *of the same periodical for the same date* (not allowed to circulate here but obtained by the Reform Club from South America), which showed that the identical articles (as proved by accompanying illustrations) were advertised for sale at the rates respectively:

	In Spanish for Foreigners.	In English for Americans.
Advance plough	$9 00	$18 00
Advance plough	4 00	8 00
Hay tedder	30 00	45 00
Mower	30 00	65 00
Horse rake	17 00	25 00
Cumming feed-cutter No. 3	60 00	90 00
Ann Arbor cutter No. 2	28 00	40 00
Ann Arbor cutter No. 1	16 00	28 00
Clipper cutter	9 50	18 00
Lever cutter	4 25	8 00
Cultivator	22 00	30 00
Sweep	60 00	90 00

THE FORCE BILL.

REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY AS TO ITS VITALITY AS AN ISSUE.

A HISTORY OF THE MEASURE AND AN ANALYSIS OF ITS PROVISIONS.

The Force Bill gives to Republican Federal officers the control of all elections. It takes from the States the substance of the right, reserved in the Constitution to determine and judge of the qualifications of voters. The assertion that it is to secure full and free elections is mere pretense. The chief supervisors are to be *appointed for life*, and, as the electoral machinery is put into their hands, it will be for years under the control of Republican partisans, no matter what may be the character of the Administration.

I.—IS IT AN ISSUE?

Since the Minneapolis Convention certain Republican politicians have tried to make the people of the United States believe that the Force Bill is not an issue in this campaign. The reason for this is evident. These men have observed since the adoption of their platform that nothing is to be gained in this campaign by advocating this measure, and, hence, they try to keep it to the rear, until the campaign is ended. The plan is deceptive; they wish to dodge the issue during the campaign and afterwards, if successful, bring it forward again.

Any Governmental measure of importance, on the adoption of which the parties have distinctly pledged themselves on opposite sides, may be well called an issue. If we examine the official declarations of the Democrats and Republicans—National and State platforms and speeches and writings of leaders—we shall find that on this question the party positions are so clear that there can be no doubt about the policies which each would pursue if in complete control of the Government.

That the Republicans are pledged to the adoption of the Force Bill is shown in many ways:

First—The National Platforms.

Platform, 1888.	Platform, 1892.
We reaffirm our unswerving devotion * * * especially to the supreme and *sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted.*	We demand that *every citizen* of the United States *shall* be allowed to *cast one* free and unrestricted *ballot in all public elections, and* that *such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted* and enforced *as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right* guaranteed by the Constitution.
We hold the *free and honest popular ballot* and the *just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican Government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections,* which are the fountains of all public authority.	The *free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people,* as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the *foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected* in every State.
We charge that the present Administration and Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the supression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and the Laws of the United States.	We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated on American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States in the Union.

These platforms placed in parallel columns show that the Republican position is the same to-day that it was four years ago. The same words cannot mean one thing in 1888, and another in 1892. No one will deny the vagueness with which the plan of the party is expressed in each platform. But, if we can find the true interpretation of the platform of 1888, we can have no doubt what that of 1892 means. None can be expected to know what this plank of 1888 meant so well as Republicans themselves. What did they say about it?

Upon the floors of the House and Senate during the 51st Congress the platform of 1888 was appealed to time after time as pledging the party to the passage of the Force Bill.

Senator Hoar, who engineered the substitute for the Lodge Bill to its happy shelving in the Senate in January, 1891, said that he deemed the bill to be the essence of Republicanism; and in speaking of "The fate of the Election Bill," in the *Forum* for April, 1891, he said: "It will not be doubted that the 'effective legislation' which the Chicago platform of 1888 promised to the country, 'to secure integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountain of our public authority,' meant legislation by Congress. The Convention was announcing the purpose of a national party in regard to national elections."

In seconding the nomination of General Harrison, at Minneapolis, ex-Senator Spooner of Wisconsin "pointed with pride" to the President's record on the subject in these words: "Nor did he forget or disregard the solemn pledge of the Republican party that 'every citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black,' is entitled at every public election to cast one free ballot, and to have that ballot honestly counted and faithfully returned."

After such evidence as to the meaning of the platform of 1888, it cannot be doubted that it meant a Federal Elections Bill. Therefore, the platform of 1892, which is in the same words essentially, must mean the same thing.

Let us, however, examine some direct evidence on the subject. As we have done heretofore, we may go to Republican sources to get the interpretation. The course of two life-long Republicans since the Minneapolis convention gives us the information we seek.

First, take the case of ex-Representative Hamilton G. Ewart, of the Ninth North Carolina Congressional District. During the debate on the Force Bill in the House, in the 51st Congress, Mr. Ewart was one of three Republicans to come out against it. His opposition to it was pleasing to his constituents and he was made the candidate of his party for re-election to the 52d Congress; but in the "tidal wave" of 1890 he was defeated. Mr. Ewart has always been a Republican; he has held many political offices in his native State, and has been recognized as the leader of his party in his Congressional district. Therefore, when his former party associates looked around for a candidate for the 53d Congress, it was natural that they should turn to him. He refused to accept the nomination, and in giving his reasons for doing so, said that the Republican platform of 1892 could mean nothing but a Force Bill; he was against a Force Bill, and, in order to make his opposition effective, he would choose the only sure way, viz.: to vote the Democratic ticket. It is reported that a number of other prominent Republicans in the district have announced their intention to follow his example."

This interpretation of the present Republican position on the Force Bill is not confined to Southern Republicans. On Aug. 27, 1892, Mr. F. A. Hobart, for thirty-eight years an active Republican in Massachusetts, for thirty years chairman of the town committee of Braintree, sent to the Chairman of the Second District Councillor Committee his resignation as a member of that committee. In giving one of his reasons for doing so, he said: "I am not in full sympathy with the platform adopted [1892]. While I believe in fully protecting the right of every voter to cast his vote fearlessly, and have it honestly counted, I am opposed to the principle of the election or so-called "Force Bill" as proposed by Lodge, and now attempted to be ignored but incorporated as a part of the Republican platform and which must inevitably follow as the result of the re-election of President Harrison. * * * It is now nearly thirty years since the close of the war, and if such a measure was unnecessary then, there is no excuse for it now."

In view of these interpretations given by party leaders, what else can the ordinary voter conclude but that the Republican platform and its candidates stand pledged to the Force Bill?

SECOND—THE CANDIDATES.

Knowing that the platform of 1892 means a Force Bill, we should expect the candidates to be in favor of it also. From the day of its appearance in Congress until the present, the candidates—the one as President of the United States, the other as editor of a leading Republican newspaper—have advocated

it in a manner surprising in its consistency, on the part of men leading a party usually so inconsistent in its positions and arguments.

President Harrison in his official utterances has kept the subject continually in a prominent place. He said in his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1889:

"It is very gratifying to observe the general interest now being manifested in the reform of election laws. Those who have been for years calling attention to the pressing necessity of throwing about the ballot-box and about the elector further safeguards in order that our elections might not only be free and pure, but might clearly appear to be so, will welcome the accession of any who did not so soon discover the need of reform. The National Congress has not, as yet, taken control of elections in that case over which the Constitution gives it jurisdiction, but has accepted and adopted the election laws of the several States, provided penalties for their violation and a method of supervision. Only an inefficiency of the State laws, or an unfair or partisan administration of them, could suggest a departure from this policy.

"It was clearly, however, in the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution that such an exigency might arise, and provision was wisely made for it. The freedom of the ballot is a condition of our national life, and no power vested in Congress or in the Executive to secure or perpetuate it should remain unused upon occasion. The people of all the Congressional districts have an equal interest that the election in each shall truly express the views and wishes of a majority of the qualified electors residing within it; the results of such elections are not local, and the insistence of electors residing in other districts that they shall be pure and free does not savor at all of impertinence."

In his First Annual Message, December 8, 1889, he said:

"But, notwithstanding all this, in many parts of our country where the colored population is large, the people of that race are, by various devices, deprived of any effective exercise of their political rights and of many of their civil rights. The wrong does not expend itself upon those whose votes are suppressed. Every constituency in the Union is wronged.

"It has been the hope of every patriot that a sense of justice and respect for the law would work a gradual cure of these flagrant evils. Surely no one supposes that the present can be accepted as a permanent condition. If it is said that these communities must work out this problem for themselves, we have a right to ask whether they are at work upon it. Do they suggest any solution? When and under what conditions is the black man to have a free ballot? When is he, in fact, to have those full civil rights which have so long been his in law? When is that equality of influence which our form of government was intended to secure to the electors to be restored? This generation should courageously face these grave questions and not leave them as a heritage of woe to the next. The consultation should proceed with candor, calmness and great patience; upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty. No question in our country can be at rest except upon the firm base of justice and of the law.

"I earnestly invoke the attention of Congress to the consideration of such measures within its well-defined constitutional powers as will secure to all our people a free exercise of the right of suffrage, and every other civil right under the Constitution and laws of the United States. No evil, however deplorable, can justify the assumption either on the part of the Executive or of Congress of powers not granted: but both will be highly blamable if all the powers granted are not wisely but firmly used to correct these evils. The power to take the whole direction and control of the election of members of the House of Representatives is clearly given to the General Government. A partial and qualified supervision of these elections is now provided for by law, and, in my opinion, this law may be so strengthened and extended as to secure, on the whole, better results than can be attained by taking all the processes of such election into Federal control. The colored man should be protected in all of his relations to the Federal Government, whether as litigant, juror or witness in our courts, as an elector or member of Congress or as a peaceable traveler upon our interstate railways.

In his Second Annual Message, December 1, 1890, he said:

"If any intelligent and loyal company of American citizens were required to catalogue the essential human conditions of national life, I do not doubt that with absolute unanimity they would begin with 'free and honest elections,' and it is gratifying to know that, generally,

there is a growing and non-partisan demand for better election laws. But against this sign of hope and progress must be set the depressing and undeniable fact that election laws and methods are sometimes cunningly contrived to secure minority control, while violence completes short-comings of fraud.

"In my last Annual Message I suggested that the development of the existing law, providing a Federal supervision of Congressional elections, offered an effective method of reforming these abuses.

"The need of such a law has presented itself in many parts of the country, and its wholesome restraints and penalties will be useful to all. The constitutionality of such legislation has been affirmed by the Supreme Court. Its probable effectiveness is evidenced by the character of the opposition that is made to it. It has been denounced as if it were a new exercise of Federal power and an invasion of the rights of the States. Nothing could be further from the truth. Congress has already fixed the time of the election of Members of Congress. It has declared that votes for Members of Congress must be by written or printed ballots; it has provided for the appointment by the Circuit Court, in certain cases, and upon the petition of a certain number of citizens, of election supervisors, and made it their duty to supervise the registration of voters conducted by the State officers; to challenge persons offering to register; to personally inspect and scrutinize the registry lists, and to affix their names to the list for the purpose of identification and the prevention of frauds; to attend at elections and remain with the boxes till the votes are all cast and counted; to attach to the registry lists and election returns any statement touching the accuracy and fairness of the registry and election, and to take and transmit to the Clerk of the House of Representatives any evidence of fraudulent practices which may be presented to them. The same law provides for the appointment of Deputy United States Marshals to attend to the polls, support the supervisors in the discharge of their duties and to arrest persons violating the election laws. The provisions of this familiar title of the Revised Statutes have been put into exercise by both the great political parties, and in the North as well as in the South, by the filing with the Court of the petitions required by the law.

"It is not, therefore, a question whether we shall have a Federal election law, for we now have one and have had for nearly twenty years, but whether we shall have an effective law. The present law stops just short of effectiveness, for it surrenders to the local authorities all control over the classification which establishes a *prima facie* right to a seat in the House of Representatives. This defect should be cured. Equality of representation and the parity of the electors must be maintained, or everything that is valuable in our system of government is lost.

"The qualification of an elector must be sought in the law, not in the opinions, prejudices, or fears of any classes, however powerful. The path of the elector to the ballot-box must be free from the ambush of fear and the enticement of fraud; the council true and open, that none shall gainsay it. Such a law should be absolutely non-partisan and impartial. It would give the advantage to honesty, and the control to majorities. Surely, there is nothing sectional about this creed, and, if it shall happen that the penalties of laws intended to enforce these rights fall here, and not there, it is not because the law is sectional, but because, happily, crime is local and not universal.

"Nor should it be forgotten that every law, whether relating to elections or to any other subject, whether enacted by the State or by the nation, has force behind it. The Courts, the marshal or constable, the *posse comitatus* and the prison, are all and always behind the law.

"One cannot be justly charged with unfriendliness to any sectional class who seeks only to restrain violations of law and of personal right. No community will find lawlessness profitable. No community can afford to have it known that the officers who are charged with the preservation of the public peace and the restraint of the criminal classes are themselves the product of fraud or violence. The magistrate is then without respect, and the law without sanction. The floods of lawlessness cannot be leveed and made to run in one channel. The killing of the United States Marshal carrying a writ of arrest for an election offense is full of prompting and suggestion to men who are pursued by a city marshal for a crime against life or property.

"But it is said that this legislation will revive race animosities, and some have even suggested that when the peaceful methods of fraud are made impossible they may be supplanted by intimidation and violence. If the proposed law gives any qualified elector, by a hair's weight, more than his equal influence or detracts by so much from any other qualified elector, it is fatally impeached; but if the law is equal and the animosities it is to evoke grow out of the

fact that some electors have been accustomed to exercise the franchises for others as well as for themselves, then these animosities ought not to be confessed without shame and cannot be given any weight in the discussion without dishonor. No choice is left to me but to enforce with vigor all laws intended to secure to the citizen his constitutional rights and to recommend that the inadequacies of such laws be promptly remedied. If to promote with zeal and ready interest every project for the development of its material interests, its rivers, harbors, mines and factories, and the intelligence, peace and security under the law of its communities and its homes, is not accepted as sufficient evidence of friendliness to any State or section, I cannot add connivance at election practices that not only disturb local results but rob the electors of other States and sections of their most priceless practical rights."

In his Third Annual Message, December 9, 1891, he said:

"An attempt was made in the last Congress to bring to bear the constitutional powers of the General Government for the correction of frauds against the suffrage. It is important to know whether the opposition to such measures is really rested in particular features, supposed to be objectionable, or includes any proposition to give to the election laws of the United States adequacy to the correction of grave and acknowledged evils. I must yet entertain the hope that it is possible to secure a calm, patriotic consideration of such constitutional or statutory changes as may be necessary to secure the choice of the officers of the Government to the people by fair apportionments and free elections.

"I believe it would be possible to constitute a commission, non-partisan in its membership and composed of patriotic, wise, and impartial men, to whom a consideration of the question of the evils connected with our election system and methods might be committed with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for relieving or mitigating those evils. The Constitution would permit the selection of the commission to be vested in the Supreme Court, if that method would give the best guaranty of impartiality. This commission should be charged with the duty of inquiring into the whole subject of the law of elections as related to the choice of officers of the national Government, with a view to securing to every elector a free and unmolested exercise of the suffrage, and as near an approach to an equality of value in each ballot cast as is attainable.

In President Harrison's letter accepting the nomination of the Minneapolis Convention, he says:

"In my last annual message to Congress I said, 'I must yet entertain the hope that it is possible to secure a calm, patriotic consideration of such constitutional or statutory changes as may be necessary to secure the choice of the officers of the Government to the people by fair apportionment and free election.'

"I believe it would be possible to constitute a commission, non-partisan in its membership and composed of patriotic, wise and impartial men, to whom a consideration of the questions of the evils connected with our election systems and methods might be committed, with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for removing or mitigating those evils. The Constitution would permit the selection of a commission to be vested in the Supreme Court, if that method would give the best guaranty of impartiality. This commission should be charged with the duty of inquiring into the whole subject of the law of elections as related to the choice of officers of the national Government, with a view to securing to every elector a free and unmolested exercise of the suffrage and as near an approach to an equality of value in each ballot cast as is attainable.

"The demand that the limitations of suffrage shall be found in the law, and only there, is a just demand, and no just man should resent or resist it.

"It seemed to me that an appeal to our people to consider the question of readjusting our legislation upon absolutely fair, non-partisan lines might find some effective response.

"Many times I have had occasion to say that laws and election methods designed to give unfair advantages to the party making them would some time be used to perpetuate in power a faction of a party against the will of the majority of the people.

"Of this we seem to have an illustration in the recent State election in Alabama. There was no Republican ticket in the field. The contest was between white Democrats. The Kolb party say they were refused the representation guaranteed by law upon the election boards, and that when the courts by mandamus attempted to right this wrong, an appeal that could not be heard until after the election made the writs ineffectual.

"Ballot boxes were thrown out for alleged irregularities or destroyed, and it is asserted on behalf of one-half, at least, of the white voters of Alabama, that the officers to whom certificates have been given were not honestly elected.

"There is no security for the personal or political rights of any man in a community where any other man is deprived of his personal or political rights.

"The power of the States over the question of qualification of electors is ample to protect them against the dangers of an ignorant or depraved suffrage, and the demand that every man found to be qualified under the law shall be made secure in the right to cast a free ballot and to have that ballot honestly counted cannot be abated.

"Our old Republican battle cry, 'A free ballot and a fair count,' comes back to us, not only from Alabama, but from other States, and from men who, differing with us widely in opinions, have come to see that parties and political debate are but a mockery if, when the debate is ended, the judgment of honest majorities is to be reversed by ballot-box frauds and tally-sheet manipulations in the interest of the party or party faction in power.

"These new political movements in the States and the recent decisions of some of the State courts against unfair apportionment laws encourage the hope that the arbitrary and partisan election laws and practices which have prevailed may be corrected by the States, the laws made equal and non-partisan and the elections free and honest. The Republican party would rejoice at such a solution, as a healthy and patriotic local sentiment is the best assurance of free and honest elections. I shall again urge upon Congress that provision be made for the appointment of a non-partisan commission to consider the subject of apportionments and elections in their relation to the choice of Federal officers."

Throughout the 51st Congress President Harrison was understood to stand squarely behind the Force Bill; and it is well known that he used all his personal and official influence to secure its passage.

The position of the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate is no less distinct than that of President Harrison. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, as editor of the *New York Tribune*, threw his whole influence in favor of the bill. A few sample extracts from that paper will show that Mr. Reid is in harmony with his running mate:

March 6, 1889.—"We learned long ago that General Harrison could put a good deal into one sentence, but he rarely, if ever, succeeded better than when he said, in his inaugural address: 'An unlawful expedient cannot become a permanent condition of government.' This utterance goes to the root of the whole Southern question."

March 17, 1890.—"If either party is to lose an election conducted under this law, we should think it would be the Republican party in the South, since they have the larger number of illiterate voters, who might be deterred from the—to them—formidable operation of preparing and casting a ballot. Whether the bill could be made to work with reasonable smoothness we cannot say. That ought to be determined fairly well in committee and in the discussion in the House. * * * But this much may be said for Mr. Lodge, * * * that there is no trace of partisan partiality in this bill, and that it is an honest and courageous attempt to apply a sound principle of public policy and a high standard of political purity to a most difficult and perplexing problem."

June 12, 1890.—"No other measure proposed at the present session of Congress is of greater or more far-reaching importance than this. The duty of Congress to secure honest elections is one which Republican Representatives cannot afford to neglect, for the result in Congressional elections in many Northern States may depend upon their action."

July 1, 1890.—"If it be a duty at all to protect the purity of the ballot box, to defend the people in the right of suffrage, then that is a duty so sacred that no man can be excused for neglecting it on account of personal convenience or personal or partisan risks. Is it such a duty? The *Tribune* does not find the Constitution declaring that everybody shall leave each State to guarantee to its people a republican form of government or not, as may happen. The Constitution requires that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government. The *Tribune* does not find the Constitution leaving to the States * * * the enforcement of United States laws. The Constitution requires the United States to enforce its laws. Neither does the Constitution leave to each State exclusively the duty of making laws to govern the election of members of Congress. It expressly provides that

Congress, when occasion arises, shall make such laws, and with the power goes the duty to do so, if laws satisfactory in their workings have not been made and enforced by the States."

July 22, 1890.—"The election bill has been lied about so persistently that some persons, even in the Senate, do not seem to know that it refers to Federal elections, and not to elections of local or State officers, or to elections by which Senators are chosen. The House has exclusive right to judge of the qualifications of its own members. If it should simply require its Clerk to place upon the rolls only the names of those elected according to methods it prescribes and refused to admit any others, what branch of the Government could object? Logic and equity justify the expectation that Senators will assent to regulations which the House deems necessary, as the House would assent if the Senate should propose regulations to govern the election of Senators."

December 2, 1890.—"In regard to the election bill the President speaks with unwavering courage and fidelity to his convictions of duty. He believes that such a measure is necessary, that every loyal and intelligent citizen, if not blinded by partisanship, would demand it of Congress, and that the subject ought to be acted upon without delay. His calm and admirable recent remarks on this topic deserve the thoughtful attention of all citizens, and form, perhaps, the most impressive and creditable part of a message which is very deserving of high praise."

January 8, 1891.—"The spectacle presented in the Senate yesterday afternoon is not one that Republicans generally can view or speak of with patience. Eight members of the majority united with the Democrats in voting to remove the election bill from the favorable place which it has occupied on the calendar from the opening of the session, and to give precedence to the financial matters, which, in the eyes of some Senators, are most important. * * * These names are not likely to be forgotten. A combine of this kind can only end in disaster to the Republicans who engage in it."

January 28, 1891.—"Once more the combination of a few silver Senators with the Democratic party defeats and delays a Republican measure of the highest importance—delays, rather than defeats, it may be hoped. * * * It is almost inconceivable that any Republican Senators, who know how time has been systematically wasted by the minority for the avowed purpose of preventing the transaction of any public business until the minority is allowed to dictate, should, nevertheless, suffer themselves to be used as tools of the Democratic minority in causing further delay. The rule empowering the majority to control the business of the Senate has become necessary to the discharge of its duties by the Senate. Those who vote to thrust it aside, whatever their motive or their tradings, take a tremendous responsibility for which the stanch Republican voters of all the States will hold them to account. If they imagine that they can survive as assistants of the Democratic party and yet retain Republican support and confidence, there are many illustrations in past history which should convince them of their mistake."

Who will say, after reading these sentiments of the paper for which Mr. Reid is responsible, that he is not committed to the Force Bill? Unless he says in his letter of acceptance that he repudiates his record he is still committed to the measure.

At Minneapolis, the subject which excited more enthusiasm than any other was the Force Bill. It was constantly referred to in the speeches, and it is well known that speeches on such occasions are meant to be party declarations. Before the Republican politicians had awakened to the fact that their Force Bill plank was not going to gain votes for their party, the plank was interpreted everywhere to mean a Force Bill, and the character of the nominees to add emphasis to the meaning.

Probably next in significance to the national platform and the utterances and records of the candidates who stand on that platform in determining the party's position on a given subject are the State platforms.

It appears from the *Tribune* Almanac list of Republican State platforms that not a single convention expressed itself against the Force Bill. In seven (Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia) there

were no conventions; for Florida, no platform is given in the *Tribune* or *World* Almanac for 1891, or in Appleton's Cyclopædia for 1890. These eight States may, therefore, be left out of account. Of the thirty-six remaining, the platforms of seven (Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Minneapolis, Montana, Washington and Wyoming), either are not given in full in the sources just referred to or contain no reference to the subject. The conventions of the other twenty-nine States may be fairly said to have indorsed the bill—four (Delaware, Iowa, Nevada and Oregon), by heartily indorsing the work of President Harrison and Speaker Reed; twenty-five by mentioning the subject of elections explicitly.

THIRD—UTTERANCES OF PROMINENT REPUBLICANS.

In April, 1891, Senator Hoar said in the *Forum:*

"It will, I think, be clear from the foregoing narrative that the Republican party had promised to do its best to secure honest elections, by the exercise of the national legislative authority; and that the purpose to keep that promise is the one essential thing that constitutes Republicanism. To that promise the President and the great body of the Republicans in the House and in the Senate have been true. The mission of the Republican party will not be accomplished until that promise shall have been kept."

Senator Hoar has maintained this position consistently since the beginning of the Force Bill agitation; and he openly adheres to it still. In a letter to Mr. Eben S. Draper, Chairman of the Massachusetts Republican State Committee, written from Paris, July 27, 1892, he says:

"The purpose of the Democrats to deny to the colored man his constitutional right and to win power by the destruction of the purity of our national elections is disclosed by their outcry against what they call the Force Bill, a simple proposition to give an appeal to the courts of the United States, subject to the final power of the House itself, in any contested questions of the election of national representatives. * * * For every other right under the National Constitution there is a remedy under national laws. Why should the dearest and most precious right of all be an exception?"

In the House debate on the Force Bill, June 26, 1890, Mr. Rowell, of Illinois, said:

"I approve of this proposed law. My judgment is with it, and I am willing to stake my reputation in the future upon this bill if it is once enacted into the law of the land. I shall regard no act of my life, Mr. Speaker, with more approval than the act which gives consent to the passage of this bill."

Is it probable that Mr. Rowell has changed his views? If so let him avow the change and explain why he has made it.

Senator Frye said in the course of the debate on the Force Bill in the Senate on December 11, 1890:

"I, to whom this bill now pending which so excites Democratic ire is not one-tenth part stringent enough, not one-tenth part drastic enough in its provisions. Why, Mr. President, if it were necessary, in order that the ballot shall be secured to every citizen of the United States, and that that ballot shall be counted as he casts it, to put a bayonet behind every ballot, I would put the bayonet behind it."

In June, 1892, Senator Dolph, writing on the subject of "The Harrison Administration," said:

"He has not acted as if he regarded the declarations contained in the national platform, upon which he was elected, as meaningless platitudes, but as if he regarded them as control-

ing statements of the principles of the party, entitled to receive his careful consideration and earnest support. Upon the great issues of the day he has held no uncertain position. He has, to the extent of his legitimate influence, aided the party in its efforts to redeem its pledges to the people, and sought to promote its principles."

In in interview published in the Boston *Herald*, June 11, 1892, Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge said:

"The renomination of President Harrison is the indorsement of his administration and its policies at home and abroad by the Republican party. His administration and the work of the 51st Congress constitute the record of the Republican party for the last four years, and on that record we ask confidently for continued power.

"We have nothing to apologize for and nothing to defend. * * * President Harrison is renominated as a faithful exponent of the Republican party and Republican principles. He stands * * * for honest elections (which have always had his hearty support)."

The expression "honest elections" is the usual form in which Republicans speak of the Force Bill.

In the *Forum* for last July Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, says, in speaking of "Mr. Harrison's Sound Administration," upon which he bases the claim of the President to re-election:

"The Republican party can never forget its duty to exert national power to protect national voting."

FOURTH—REPUBLICAN NEWSPAPERS.

The expressed opinions of Republican newspaper organs on the Force Bill show how completely the Republican party is committed to that revolutionary measure. Appended is a list of Republican papers that have endorsed the bill at various times when it has been under consideration. The list, while not complete, includes newspapers from all sections of the United States, and covers the entire period of the Force Bill discussion from the Presidential campaign in 1888 to the present. The endorsement of the measure, it will be noticed, was most pronounced when President Harrison advocated it in his inaugural and annual messages, and when the bill was pending in Congress.

REPUBLICAN FORCE BILL NEWSPAPERS.

MASSACHUSETTS, *Boston Journal* (See especially issues of March 17, 1890; June, 1890; July 22, 1890; August 8, 1890; January 27, 1891).
Boston Advertiser (March 18, 1890; June, 1890).
Springfield Union (July, 1890).

CONNECTICUT, *New Haven Palladium* (July, 1890, and August, 1892).
Hartford Courant (December 2, 1890).

NEW YORK. *New York Tribune.*
New York Mail and Express (March 17, 1890; July, 1890; December 1, 1890; January 27, 1891).
New York Press (March 16, 1890; April 29, 1890; June 17 and 24, 1890; July 8, 1890; August 11 and 26, 1890; December 2, 1890; January 27, 1891; June 10, 1892).
New York Age (August 13, 1892).
Frank Leslie's Weekly (June 28, 1890; July, 1890).

NEW YORK.	*Brooklyn Times* (March 17, 1890; July, 1890; January 27, 1891; July 25, 1892).
	Brooklyn Standard-Union (December, 1890; January 27, 1891).
	Albany Journal (July and December, 1890; January, 1891).
	Albany Express (July, 1890).
	Troy Times (July, 1890; January, 1891).
	Syracuse Standard (July, 1890).
	Utica Herald (June and July, 1890; August 25, 1890; January, 1891).
	Rochester Democrat and Chronicle (December 20, 1890).
	Buffalo Express (September 12, 1888).
NEW JERSEY,	*Newark Freie-Zeitung* (August 13, 1892).
PENNSYLVANIA,	*Philadelphia Press* (December 4, 1889; March 19, 1890; July 1 and 22, 1890; August 13, 1890; November 20, 1890; December 20, 1890; January 27, 1891; July 30, 1892).
	Philadelphia North American (March 16, 1890; January, 1891).
	Philadelphia Inquirer (July, 1890).
	Pittsburgh Times (December, 1890).
	Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette (March 18, 1890; June 18, 1890; July 28, 1890; August 11 and 25, 1890; December, 1890; January 27, 1891).
OHIO,	*State Journal* (March, 1889; March 18, 1890; July, 1890; August 25, 1890; December, 1890; January 27, 1891).
	Cleveland Leader and Herald (June, 1890; July 6 and 28, 1890; August 10, 1890; December 21, 1890; January, 1891).
	Toledo Blade (June 28, 1890; July, 1890; December 1, 1890).
	Cincinnati Commercial Gazette (June 20, 1890; July 7 and 20, 1890; August 26, 1890; December 21, 1890; January 27, 1891).
INDIANA,	*Indianapolis Journal* (November 14, 1890; April 28, 1890; June 14, 1890; July, 1890; August 25, 1890; December 20, 1890; January, 1891; December 11, 1891).
ILLINOIS,	*Chicago Inter-Ocean* (January 10, 1889; June 12 and 28, 1890; August 9, 1890; July 4, 1891).
	Chicago Journal (July 7, 1890; December, 1890).
	Chicago Graphic (August, 1890).
	Chicago Tribune (July, 1890).
MICHIGAN,	*Detroit Tribune* (June 14, 1890; July, 1890; December 20, 1890; January, 1891).
WISCONSIN,	*Milwaukee Sentinel* (December, 1890).
	Milwaukee Wisconsin (June 18, 1890; July, 1890).
MINNESOTA,	*Minneapolis Tribune* (January 9, 1889; March 15, 1890; June 29, 1890; July 3, 1890).
IOWA,	*State Register* (January 11, 1889; November 14, 1889; June, 1890).

IOWA.	*Sioux City Journal* (December, 1890).
KANSAS,	*Leavenworth Times* (January 12, 1889; August 24, 1890).
	Topeka Capital (June 28, 1890; July, 1890).
NEBRASKA,	*Omaha Republican* (July 20, 1890).
WASHINGTON,	*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (November 10, 1889; July 18, 1892).
CALIFORNIA,	*San Francisco Chronicle* (July, 1890).
COLORADO,	*Denver Times* (June 22, 1890; July and December, 1890).
	Denver Republican (July, 1890).
	Aspen Times (December, 1890).
TEXAS,	*Houston Tribune* (July, 1890).
MISSOURI,	*Kansas City Journal* (June, 1890; July 31, 1890; December, 1890).
WEST VIRGINIA,	*Wheeling Intelligencer* (March 6, 1889).
MARYLAND,	*Baltimore American* (December 4, 1889; March 17, 1890; June 17, 1890; July 22, 1890; December 2, 1890).

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *The Washington Pilot* (December 20, 1890).

Lack of space makes it impossible to quote from all these papers; their representative character is shown by the number—fifty-three, and the extent of territory over which they circulate—twenty-one States and the District of Columbia. A few extracts from them, however, will show the tone in which they have spoken of the Force Bill:

Chicago Inter-Ocean, January 10, 1889:

Hardly had the result of the recent elections become known before the Southern problem began to be agitated with a thoroughness hitherto unknown. And now Senator Sherman leads off in a measure of reform which has the air of business and the promise of practical results. This plan is confined to the regulation and supervision of the election of Congressmen, except as a State may voluntarily make it apply to the Presidential election. Congress can provide the machinery for the election of members of the House, irrespective of State law.

Ohio State Journal, about March 6, 1889:

Let just and wholesome laws be executed uniformly and generally throughout the whole Nation, as President Harrison proposes, and we shall no longer see ten Congressmen elected in Georgia by a smaller vote than is required to elect one in Ohio.

Wheeling Intelligencer, about March 6, 1889:

Democratic politicians will not take kindly to Congressional elections under the acts of Congress, but President Harrison is right just the same. The whole country is interested in every election to Congress.

Philadelphia Press, December 4, 1889:

Legislation on Congressional elections President Harrison limits to an improvement of the present supervision exercised under the act now in operation. This will accomplish better results than the law taking the operations of Congressional elections under Federal control.

Baltimore American, December 4, 1889:

The latter part of the message is devoted to the treatment of the colored people in the South, and the improvement of our merchant marine—the most important subjects with which the present Congress will have to deal. President Harrison frankly recommends that Congress assume the supervision of the election of its own members, so that in National affairs, at least, the colored people can secure the representation and recognition guaranteed them by the Constitution.

Boston Journal, March 17, 1890:

The bill, it seems to us, must commend itself to all persons who have more regard to the purity of elections and the good name of the Republic than to partisan advantage. It is an honest and elaborate effort to accomplish a much-desired end.

Toledo Blade, June 28, 1890:

The bill in our judgment, will fail simply because it does not go far enough. Federal elections should be divided, in all the States, from any and all State elections. They should be entirely distinct and separate and held under the authority and control of Federal officers.

Philadelphia Press, July, 1890:

The *Press* can only say of this measure, as it has of other important measures which have already passed the House, that a failure to pass this bill will be regarded by those who believe in a free, fair, and honest ballot as a failure to redeem the pledges of the Republican party.

Kansas City Journal, July 21, 1890:

In passing the Federal election bill the Republican Congress simply redeems the promise made by the last Republican National Convention in the platform which it adopted. That platform declared that "we hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority." Such platform generalities are expected, but it is not usually expected that they will be acted upon. They are regarded as devices to catch the people, which, having served the purpose of the campaign orator, are afterward unheeded and soon forgotten. But the Federal election bill is exactly in line with the section quoted from the platform. The Republicans are redeeming their party pledges. The House has passed the bill and the Senate will also.

Toledo Blade, in the latter part of July, 1890:

The Federal elections bill will not be abandoned. It will be taken up in December and acted upon. The Republican party cannot afford to neglect the pledge in its platform of 1888, upon which the Republican majority in Congress was elected.

Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette, August 11, 1890:

The senior Senator from Pennsylvania is reported to have come out flat-footed against the Federal elections bill, no matter in what form it may come before the Senate. Since Mr. Cameron is opposed to the law, it is pertinent to state the principle on which the proposed law is based. The last Republican National Convention made this significant declaration: "We hold the free and honest popular ballot, etc." Only a few weeks ago the Republicans of Pennsylvania reaffirmed this declaration.

New York Mail and Express, August 25, 1890:

Now, if the Democracy really want to make the elections bill the paramount issue they will find Republicans ready and anxious to force the fighting and to submit the vast and vital questions involved to the intelligence and the sense of justice of the people. Since the days of reconstruction the Republican party has had no great popular issue at all to be compared with that which is involved in the proposition to exercise the Constitutional right and power of Congress to regulate the election of its members.

New York Press, August 26, 1890·

This bill is in an entirely different Constitutional direction, for it extends the right of suffrage from theory to practice, and popularizes the national government. The Republican party is pledged to the policy of suffrage extension and protection against fraud and intimidation at elections, and its members insist first, last and all the time, that that policy shall be carried out.

Baltimore American, December 2, 1890:

A more plucky and consistent message than that of President Harrison has never issued from the White House. The part of the message relating to the necessity for the proper law to

regulate Congressional elections is very clear and can scarcely fail to disarm much of the thoughtless opposition to the measure.

Cleveland Leader, December 21, 1890:

This is certainly the weakest excuse or justification for a vote ever offered in an American Congress. Senator ——— is in need of a little backbone. If Senator ——— can give no better reason for his vote than this, he ought to go over to the Democratic party.

Philadelphia Press, January 27, 1891:

There never was a better test of genuine Republicanism than the elections bill. If its agitation has served no other purpose, it has at least developed the base metal in the party and prepared the way for casting it out.

Brooklyn Times, January 27, 1891:

The people indorsed the so called force bill when they elected Benjamin Harrison President, and they have not yet withdrawn their mittimus. The Federal elections bill * * * is a comparatively mild and nerveless measure. * * * It is simply a moderate attempt to redeem the pledge so emphatically given by the Republican party in 1888.

Indianapolis Journal, in January, 1891:

All honor to those who stood by the principles of the party and in favor of honest elections. It is only a question of time when these principles will triumph, or free government itself will fall. The Republican party will accept the issue and fight it out on that line.

Chicago Inter-Ocean, July 4, 1891:

The National election bill, the Force bill, if it better please our Southern contemporaries so to call it, as proposed in the last Congress was not a measure of sectional application. * * * Why is President Harrison to be judged insincere in his approbation of the South if he favor such a bill? * * * He was sincere.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 18, 1892:

As a proper measure to protect and purify the ballot-box it is to be regretted that the Senate of the 51st Congress failed to pass it.

Brooklyn Times, July 25, 1892:

The Constitution of the United States does explicity authorize Congress to provide that no local triumph of fraudulent methods shall work injury or injustice in Federal elections to the citizens of other States. * * Surely the time has come to give effect to this Constitutional provision. (Article I, section 1.) We do not agree with the *Sun*, on the one hand, or with the *Age* on the other, that this is the great and overshadowing issue of the campaign, but it is a great issue, and it should not be shirked."

Philadelphia Press, July 30, 1892:

The *Evening Post* says there are signs that the Republican party wants to get rid of the Force bill as an issue. The *Evening Post* is mistaken. The Republican party believes that every man in the Republic entitled to a vote should be allowed to exercise the right of suffrage. And it will stand on that proposition gladly for all time.

New York Age, August 13, 1892:

A just Federal elections law is one of the things as certain to come as the eventual triumph of the Afro-American over all the powers of antagonism in the Republic.

New Haven Palladium, August, 1892:

The question of the free suffrage and honest elections, is one that takes hold of the foundations of our system of government; the Republican party of to-day looks upon the question as the most important before the country; the party is committed to the theory that free and honest elections can be best secured through Federal legislation and the protection of the Federal government; if Mr. Harrison is re-elected, there is no doubt that the most earnest efforts of his Administration will be extended towards the passage of a Federal election law by Congress, similar to that which passed the House of Representatives of the last Congress.

II.—NO CHANGE OF POLICY.

Suppose we concede, for the sake of argument, that the Republicans are not pledged to the Force Bill *now*; what follows? Either they are intensely ignorant, or they have changed their declared policy. If they are ignorant, of course they do not deserve to be kept in power; but none will claim that they did not know what they meant, and did not intend to express such a meaning as has been shown to be contained in their platform and in the declarations of party leaders. On the other hand, they have not changed their policy; otherwise, why should not their platform of 1892 say so? If the change has taken place since the Minneapolis Convention, why do not their candidates say so?

HARRISON'S CRAFT.

One part of President Harrison's letter of acceptance is devoted to the subject of elections of national officers. In it either he meant to deal with the election of Representatives in Congress or he did not. He includes Representatives and Senators with the President as "national officers." If he did not, then his record must stand as indicating the course which he would most probably pursue, if elected. We have already seen the record to be consistent in advocacy of the Force Bill. If he did intend to treat the subject here, then let us see exactly what he has said. He asserts that the States have "ample" power "over" the suffrage; they may, for instance, prescribe an educational qualification for voters. But he does not say that the power of the States to *control* the suffrage is such that the Federal Government may not interfere with it. On the other hand, he still adheres to the principle that the Federal Government may interfere with the *elections* of Federal officers, and, as will be seen later, in connection with the speech of Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, during the House debate on the Force Bill, elections and suffrage are so closely connected that control of the first means control of the second also. The President says that he intends to "urge upon Congress"—most probably at its next session—the same measure urged in his last annual message, viz.:

> That provision be made for the appointment of a non-partisan commission to consider the subject of appointments and elections in their relation to the choice of Federal officers.

This clearly implies that he believes the Federal Government has the legal right to control elections of Federal officers, for why should he wish a commission to investigate a subject if Congress has no power to take some action on its report. Nowhere does he deny this power to the Federal Government. He has pledged himself to make a specific recommendation to Congress—"I shall again urge upon Congress," etc. The majority of the House of the 52d Congress is politically opposed to the President. He knows, in view of the record of the Democrats in the House of the 51st Congress, that the Democrats of the present House will not carry out any direct recommendation of a Force Bill. So he confines himself to recommending a milder measure, the appointment of a Commission, based, however, on the same fundamental principle upon which the Force Bill rests. It would have been easy for President Harrison to say that he was wrong in advocating the Force Bill of 1889 to 1891, but he sees as clearly as any man that he would stultify himself in thus disowning his record.

He doubtless prefers, if possible, to let that specific measure drop out of sight, temporarily. Meanwhile, if he can be elected and both houses of the 58d Congress become Republican, he will have left open the way for the return to the original Force Bill agitation. Furthermore, he seems to have in mind an extension of the application of the principle upon which the Force Bill was based. That measure was only intended to deal with election of Representatives in Congress, the commission which he speaks of is to deal with election of officers of the National Government, *i. e.*, Presidential Electors, United States Senators and Representatives.

The Democratic Platform.

The position of the Democrats on the subject is so unequivocal that it is only necessary to state it. Section 2 of the Platform of 1892 says:

We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizens even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power, and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all, a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate."

Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved rights of the people to resist oppression which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but, in contempt of that verdict, the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity, with the laws pursuant thereto, which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be entrusted with power, * * * to the defeat of the force bill.

Grover Cleveland's Position.

The Democratic candidates are in full accord with this platform. Mr. Cleveland has always adhered to principles antagonistic to the Force Bill. Long before it was proposed, on October 7, 1882, in his letter accepting the nomination for Governor of New York, he said:

The interference of officials of any degree, whether State or Federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish should not be tolerated. * * * I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom of their choice. * * * The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

In his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1885, Mr. Cleveland said:

In the discharge of my official duty I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unrestrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the State or to the people.

and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which, by the Constitution and laws, have been especially assigned to the executive branch of the Government.

While on his tour through the South, in 1887, Mr. Cleveland said, in speaking to the citizens of Montgomery, Alabama:

We know that you still have problems to solve involving considerations concerning you alone—questions beyond the reach of Federal law or interference, and with which no one but you should deal.

In his Fourth Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1888, Mr. Cleveland said:

Our mission among the nations of the earth, and our success in accomplishing the work God has given the American people to do, require of those intrusted with the making and execution of our laws perfect devotion, above all other things, to the public good. This devotion will lead us to strongly resist all impatience of constitutional limitations of Federal power, and to persistently check the increasing tendency to extend the scope of Federal legislation into the domain of State and local jurisdiction, upon the plea of subserving the public welfare. The preservation of the partitions between proper subjects of Federal and local care and regulation is of such importance under the Constitution, which is the law of our very existence, that no consideration of expediency or sentiment should tempt us to enter upon doubtful ground. We have undertaken to discover and proclaim the richest blessing of a free Government, with the Constitution as our guide. Let us follow the way it points out. It will not mislead us. And surely no one who has taken upon himself the solemn obligation to support and preserve the Constitution can find justification or solace for disloyalty in the excuse that he wandered and disobeyed in search of a better way to reach the public welfare than the Constitution offers.

Thus, before the beginning of the Force Bill agitation, Mr. Cleveland had already indicated clearly the lines upon which he would condemn such a measure. In all of his public speeches since the measure was brought forward, in which he has referred to the subject, he has condemned it severely. At the Thurman banquet, in Columbus, Ohio, November 13, 1890, he referred to Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge as

One, high in party councils, who has become notorious as the advocate of a contrivance to perpetuate partisan supremacy by outrageous interference with the suffrage.

At the banquet of the Young Men's Democratic Association in Philadelphia, January 8, 1891, Mr. Cleveland said:

When we see our political adversaries bent upon the passage of the Federal law, with the scarcely denied purpose of perpetuating partisan supremacy, which invades the States with election machinery designed to promote Federal interference with the rights of the people in the localities concerned, discrediting their honesty and fairness, and justly arousing their jealousy of centralized power, we will stubbornly resist such a dangerous and revolutionary scheme, in obedience to our pledge for "the support of the State governments in all their rights."

At a Brooklyn ratification meeting, October 14, 1891, Mr. Cleveland congratulated the Democratic party on the shelving of the Force Bill in the Senate:

Our boasted American freedom of suffrage was saved and constitutional rights preserved through the combined effort of a Democratic Senatorial minority, splendidly led and grandly sustained. * * * Let me remind you that no Democratic locality can exist without attracting to it the wistful gaze of those who find an adherence to the doctrine of Home Rule and an attachment to the Democratic faith, obstacles to the political advantage they seek to gain without scruple as to the method of procedure.

On July 7, 1892, Mr. Cleveland wrote from Gray Gables to J. W. Campbell, of the Cleveland and Stevenson Club, Middlesboro, Kentucky, as follows:

I do not wonder that those adopting these resolutions speak of the Force Bill as a horror of Republicanism. Such doctrines as it embodies are a direct attack upon the theory of our government; and while such a measure especially menaces the welfare and prosperity of the South, it must be condemned and denounced by all those everywhere who love their country and have the least claim to be numbered among those who believe in the principles of true Democracy.

On July 9, 1892, Mr. Cleveland wrote to Basil B. Gordon, Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Virginia:

I regard it as a most atrocious measure, and I do not see how any Democrat can think otherwise.

Mr. Cleveland also wrote to some Democrats in Arkansas, in the latter part of last July:

The evils and dangers that menace the South in the case of Democratic defeat are appalling to those against whom they are especially directed; but it should not be forgotten in any quarter that these things cannot be visited upon one section of our people without endangering the safety which all find behind an honest and faithful observance of principles upon which our entire political fabric rests.

Stevenson's Denunciation of the Measure.

The Democratic Vice-Presidential Candidate, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, is as firmly opposed to the Force Bill as Mr. Cleveland has been shown to be. In two of his recent speeches, at Bloomington, Illinois, August 27, 1892, and at Vincennes, Indiana, September 1, 1892, he denounced the measure with great vigor. At Bloomington, he said:

Another issue of great moment in the pending contest is the Force Bill. The magnitude of this issue cannot be overstated. It may mean the control of the election of representatives in Congress by the bayonet. The Republican party, by its acts in the 51st Congress, and by its platform in its late national convention, stands pledged to the passage of the Force Bill. That it will pass this bill when it has the power no sane man can doubt. To all of the people—all who desire the peace and prosperity of our common country—this question is important. To the people of the Southern States it is one of transcendent importance—shall they still have peace and the protection of the law, or shall the horrors with which they are menaced find their counterpart only in those of the darkest hours of the reconstruction period?

Applying the other tests to the Democrats which we have already applied to the Republicans to ascertain the party attitude, we find that nearly every State Convention denounced the Force Bill and none favored it; public men and newspapers, professing the Democratic faith, have always been and still are unanimous in opposition to it. During the 51st Congress every Democrat of both Houses was against the measure.

Having now determined the positions of the two great parties on the Force Bill, and from these positions concluded that it is an issue in the present campaign, it is important next to show:

III.—WHAT IT IS.

The subject which the Force Bill proposed to deal with is the election of members of the national House of Representatives. During the whole history

of the Government elections of these officers have been conducted by the States and elaborate provisions for the purpose will be found in the Constitutions and statute laws of each State. In addition to these State laws, which provide the real machinery for Congressional elections, Congress provided, by the act of February 28, 1871, for a system of supervision. This act has been amended somewhat since enactment; but in it are to be found the main provisions for the present system of supervision. Whenever at any election a Representative in Congress is to be voted for, on petition of two citizens in any city or town of upwards of 20,000 inhabitants, or ten citizens in any county or parish of a Congressional district, to the Judge of the United States Circuit Court in whose circuit the petitioners reside, he shall open court and appoint for each precinct or voting place where supervision is so petitioned for two supervisors, who shall supervise the registration of voters, the voting itself and the counting of ballots. When elections are completed, the supervisors make reports to the chief supervisor in whose district they reside. Each United States Circuit Court is directed, on or before May 1, 1871, to appoint for each judicial circuit, from among the Commissioners of the Court, a chief supervisor, to hold office during good behavior, and thereafter to make other appointments whenever vacancies occur. These chief supervisors' duties are to provide stationery for officers in charge of registration and election, receive an application for any citizen to be appointed supervisor for the precinct in which he resides, to forward such petition to the United States Circuit Court upon proper occasion, and give information on the subject to the Judge of the Court; to require of supervisors lists of voters when desired and if deemed proper, to have these verified at the residences of voters, and to keep on file all papers and returns relating to elections. Provision is also made for appointment of special deputy marshals by the United States Marshal of the district from among the citizens of the precinct, whenever petitioned for by two citizens in any city or town of 20,000 or more inhabitants. These deputy marshals shall assist supervisors at the places of registration and election, and in verifying registration lists when so desired. After being in operation nearly twenty years, this supervisory law is claimed by Republicans to have proven very efficacious in preventing frauds in elections in large cities. But in 1889, there arose among the Republicans in both branches of Congress a demand for a change. The result of this demand was the Force Bill which passed the House of Representatives during the first session of the 51st Congress.

A large number of bills to bring about this change were introduced into both houses during the latter part of the 50th and early part of the 51st Congress. These were of two kinds: first, those proposing that the general Government take entire charge of Congressional elections; second, those proposing to make a federal addition to the State machinery. Out of the large number of bills introduced, that of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the House Select Committee on Elections of President, Vice-president and Representatives, introduced June 14, 1890 (as H. R., 10958), was reported June 19, as H. R. 11045. This bill was taken up for discussion June 26, and passed the House under the lead of Mr. Lodge, with Speaker Reed's assistance, July 2. The real authorship of this bill has now been definitely

fixed upon Mr. John I. Davenport, of New York, famous as a federal election chief supervisor; but Mr. Lodge succeeded in getting his name attached to the measure, and it became known as the Lodge Federal Election or "Force" Bill.

Briefly, it provides that if in any county or parish 50, or if in any Congressional district, or in any city or town of 20,000 inhabitants or upwards, 100, resident citizens petition for the law set forth in the bill to go into operation, it shall do so. These petitions shall be sent to chief supervisors, one of whom is to be appointed, if not already appointed, for each judicial district in the United States by the Judge of the United States Circuit Court whose circuit covers the district. These chief supervisors hold office during good behavior. After receiving petitions for this law to go into operation, they notify the Judge of the Circuit Court, who convenes his Court and appoints supervisors, three of whom are detailed to act in each precinct to which the law is to apply. The Circuit Courts shall also appoint a United States board of canvassers for each State, whose duty it is to canvass and declare the results of elections in each Congressional district where there has been Federal supervision. In addition to these officers, the United States marshal of the district in which the law has been called into operation is directed to appoint whatever number of deputy marshals the chief supervisors may think necessary to aid in carrying out the provisions of the act. This large number of Federal officers who are thus called into power is additional to the State election officers, who continue to perform their duties under the State laws; they compose a federal election machinery annexed to the State machinery. They see after, "guard," "scrutinize," "supervise" or take part in registration of voters, naturalization of citizens, the casting and counting and returning of ballots. Then, after the election is finished, they make a report which is sent to the Clerk of the House of Representatives; and after this report is received from the various Congressional districts, the Clerk makes up his roll of the House. The results, as declared by the boards of canvassers, subject to contests of certificates in the United States Circuit Courts, are to take precedence of the decisions of State officers when there is a difference of opinion as to the persons elected.

IV.—WHAT IT IS NOT.

Republicans have claimed that this Federal Election bill is merely an extension of the Supervisors' Law of 1871, referred to above. Both relate to supervisors, and therefore they are alike, the Republicans seem to reason. But an examination of the old law and the new bill will reveal a very wide difference, so radical as to condemn the bill thoroughly. The Law of 1871 provided that the precinct supervisors to be appointed, as provided in the present bill, should be "two citizens, residents of the city or town, or of the election district or voting precinct in the county or parish, who shall be of different political parties, and able to read and write the English language." There are only two supervisors, and these are to be of different parties; therefore, neither could outvote the other in case of disagreement; when they supervised an election, each would be a check on the other, but neither could report the result to his chief

in such a way as to throw out of consideration the other's report; there could be no majority and minority. In the present bill we find three supervisors; two of these may be, and undoubtedly would be, of the same political party. Nearly all United States circuit judges were Republicans when this bill was being considered, and are still, and as they were to appoint the supervisors, under the provisions of the bill, they would most probably appoint two out of every three Republicans. Thus, in every Board of Supervisors there would be a majority of the same political faith. This majority would rule as it pleased, would report anything it chose as to registration, naturalization, voting and counting, and the minority could do nothing. And when we examine the bill further, we find a provision to make efficient this power which is put into the hands of the majority of the supervisors to carry the election for their party. After really taking part in the election, they report to the chief supervisor, and he tabulates the returns from the various precincts for the use of the United States Board of Canvassers. This board is made up on the same plan as a board of precinct supervisors. There are three members appointed by the United States Circuit Judge for the district, two of whom may be of the same political party, and the majority rule prevails. This majority makes the decision as to who is elected in each Congressional district of the State in which supervision prevails, and forwards its decision to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, upon whom it is binding in making up his roll for the beginning of the session of the next Congress, without regard to the certificates sent by State officers. Thus the change of the little word two in the act of 1871 to three in the bill, and giving precedence to the reports of United States officers over those of State officers, make such a difference that we have an almost entirely new piece of legislation to consider. The Supervisors' Law of 1871 does not make it possible to take away from the States the control of election returns; the proposed bill does do so in practice, if not in theory.

V.—ITS PURPOSE.

From the short summary of the bill given above, its partisanship is evident. It is not surprising, therefore, to see that, in the debates of the 51st Congress and in the periodicals of the day, the Republicans declare the bill directed at sections of the country which are strongholds of Democracy, namely, the great cities of the North and the Southern States. It is also entirely in harmony with our anticipation to find that the bill is not aimed at the great evil which prevails in federal elections in Republican strongholds, namely, bribery. With the Presidential campaign of 1888 fresh in mind, full of its lessons of the possibilities of the illegitimate use of money in elections, with Dudley's name ringing in their ears, the Republicans had a great opportunity to do their country a patriotic service when the first session of the 51st Congress met. They had control of the executive and legislative departments of the Government, and the Democrats in Congress would have joined them heartily in a crusade against bribery. The present laws against the bribery of voters are notoriousy unenforced or insufficient; and yet the only reference to the subject in the whole bill is in Section 36. This adds nothing essential to the present law on the subject. The reason for the vagueness of the reference is not far to seek.

the Republicans did not wish to attack the evil from which they profited most. On June 26, 1890, Mr. Tucker said in the House debate on this subject: "You have to-day a statute providing against bribery. You have a section in this bill against it with a little addition that the man who is bribed is amenable also to punishment. And let me tell you when the two get together you will have a pretty hard time to find out who was the bribed and who was the briber. I do not justify and can not justify the stealing of a vote or the killing of a man; but I say, for the sake of argument, admit the truth of the gentlemen's assertion. What position are you in if reports be true that money has been used all over this country in carrying elections? And you know, as well as we can know any other fact in this life, that much was used for the purpose of corrupting voters by the Republican party in the last Presidential election. I ask you now in all seriousness to answer candidly the question whether or not it is any worse—supposing it to be bad enough to steal ballot-boxes—to steal a ballot than it is to buy a vote before it goes into the box.

"You are forced to plead guilty to the charge that votes are bought throughout the North and seek to avoid its force by charging ballot-box stuffing on the South. Are you in position, before removing the beam out of your own eye, to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye?

"Both are wrong, but when you begin to pose as the immaculate party that cannot exist in an atmosphere tainted with immorality of any kind, and would hide your own crimes by a tirade against the supposed delinquencies of others, I beg to suggest that it would at least be prudent to sweep before your own doors before demanding that filth should be swept from your neighbors' doors.

"You say you want to uproot both by your bill. When did the desire strike you? Since the indictments against Dudley were dismissed or the fat-frying processes of Foster were exhausted, or after the $400,000 gathered together by the industrious hand of the present Postmaster-General had been expended for legitimate campaign purposes? And if, with bribery all around you, you have failed to enforce the present law against bribery, how can you hope that you will do so now?" And it is true, as Master Workman Powderly has pointed out, that, "In the perfection of its methods of intimidation the Democratic party is behind the Republican, for the latter employs a more refined system of doing violence to the election laws of the nation."

Although the bill was directed primarily at Democratic strongholds, and, therefore, especially at the South, it would have applied to the whole country. The Republicans during the discussion of the bill were constantly saying that the aim was not sectional. This was not true; its aim was sectional; but its application would have been national. We shall see later, when we come to examine the details of the bill, how this would have been inevitable. Northern Democrats asserted almost constantly on the floor of the House during the debate that they fought the Force bill not merely because it was aimed at the South especially, but also because it was aimed at their own constituencies as well. So, now, in appealing to the people of the United States, the Democratic party, through its platform and candidates, appeals to the whole country, in the interest of every section, to defeat the party of the Force bill.

As soon as one sees the geographical aim of the bill, namely, the great cities of the North, and the Southern States, one realizes its purpose. Let us call upon

a Republican witness to tell us what the purpose was. Happily we have one whom all Republicans will trust, whom Democrats will admit to be an authority upon this subject—Speaker Reed. In his speech at a dinner of the Americus Republican Club of Pittsburgh, April 26, 1891, he said: "Let us cut loose from State elections, do our own registration, our own counting and our own certification."

Led by Mr. Cleveland, the Democrats have "forced the fighting" on the tariff question since 1887. The people had not reached the high plane of the ideas of the Democratic President when his famous message was sent in to Congress that year; and so, in 1888, he was defeated. In 1889 the Republicans gained control of all departments of the government. If they could only retain control, they argued, they could continue their tariff policy. So in the first session of the 51st Congress, the Force bill was pushed with vigor. Had it passed, they would have expected the 52d Congress to be Republican also, and in the partisan operation of the law, it is most probable that they would not have miscalculated. The 52d Congress Republican and the Force bill in operation, the prospect seemed good for the continuance of Republican ascendancy for many years. Hence their tariff policy would have been continued. In its zeal for the party cause, the New York *Tribune* let this part of the plan be known in its issue of August 15, 1890; it said: "The Election bill carries within itself the assurance of future tariff bills by the hundred." Mr. William L. Wilson, Representative in Congress from West Virginia, exposed this plan in very concise terms, in his speech at Chicago upon taking the chair to preside over the Democratic Convention, June 22, 1892: "We are not deceived as to the temper of the Republican party. We are not in doubt as to its purpose. Having taxed us for years without excuse and without mercy, it now proposed to disarm us of all powers of resistance. Republican success in this campaign, whether we look to the party platform, the party candidates, or the utterances of the party leaders, means that the people are to be stripped of their franchise through Force bills, in order that they may be stripped of their subsistence through tariff bills."

Let any tariff reformers, therefore, who have felt no interest in the Force bill issue in this campaign, realize that a high tariff goes hand in hand with the Force bill; for a Force bill means Republican ascendancy, and that ascendancy means a continuance of McKinleyism. The Republicans would find some excuse, according to their economic reasoning, for raising the rate of duties if the bill were passed. As will be seen later, the execution of the law would require a large expenditure of money. Therefore, the Republican party would feel fully justified in making any increase of duties to meet these necessary expenses. This is only an instance of the policy which the Republican party has pursued for a number of years past, of making appropriations so great that a large revenue is necessary to pay them.

VI.—CONSTITUTIONALITY.

The Republicans, during the debate on this bill, based their argument for its constitutionality on Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1, of the Constitution: "The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and repre-

sentatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing senators." Upon the face of it, this clause would seem to admit of the Republican interpretation; and yet, if the power to control Congressional elections had really been left to Congress, it would seem that it would not have been entirely unused for one hundred years and then called into use under such suspicious circumstances as is attempted now. Every one recognizes that the Constitution is expressed in general language; and that in order to get at its true meaning, one has to consider the instrument as a whole, the circumstances of its adoption, etc. Taking the Constitution as a whole, and the clause under discussion in particular, it is evident that it was intended that primarily the States should conduct Congressional elections. If this is true, then the reserve power which the Republicans rightly claim to belong to Congress, expressed here, must not be exercised except under certain conditions. If it were otherwise, the first part of the clause—"the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof," would mean nothing; the second part of the clause would take away what was conceded in in the first part; in other words, there would be a contradiction. Plainly, therefore, the primary power to conduct Congressional elections belongs to the State, the reserve power to Congress. When, then, is Congress to exercise this reserve power? The Constitution says, "Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulation"; but as we have seen above, this does not mean literally at all times; so, we are really not told when. How are we to learn? Only by considering the historical meaning of the instrument. Let us remember that Republicans do not claim that there is any other clause in the Constitution than Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1, upon which to base the constitutionality of a Force bill; and if, therefore, we can show that this section does not allow it, then they have no constitutional ground upon which to support it.

According to Article 5 of the Articles of Confederation, which were in force from 1781 to 1789, each State was entitled to "be represented in Congress by [not] less than 2, nor by more than 7 members." So long as the war with Great Britain continued, the necessity for co-operation kept the States united and compelled them, therefore, to send Representatives to Congress. As soon as the war was ended and the British army removed, however, the States began to lose interest in the affairs of the Confederation; many wanted to pursue their own way with as little interference from the general Government as possible. Consequently, their number of Representatives in Congress decreased; some States were not represented *at all*,—*e. g.*, Georgia and Delaware. This made Congress very inefficient. On the two most important occasions in its history after 1783, the attendance was very small: on December 22, 1783, when Washington resigned his commission as General of the Continental Army, only 28 delegates, representing 7 States, were present; and when the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was voted upon, January 14, 1784, only 23 delegates, representing 11 States, were present. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, in his Life of Washington, describes this truly noble scene in glowing terms. In reading the references to it in the Journal of the Congress, Mr. Lodge

must have noticed the small number of men recorded as present. It does not seem to have occurred to him, however, that the provision in the Constitution, which succeeded the Articles of Confederation as an instrument of government for the United States, which provided that never after its adoption should it be possible for States to refuse to be represented in Congress, was due to this cause.

Under a complex system of government, if a State were to fail or refuse to hold congressional elections, or even if it were to hold them at inconvenient or useless times, the federal government would be broken down or embarrassed. The possibility of a State's failing to send Representatives to Congress was very clearly in the minds of our forefathers, and, when the Constitution was adopted, they provided against it. Hence it is that we have the words in the latter part of Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1 of the Constitution, which means nothing more than this: if the States fail or refuse to send Representatives to Congress, then Congress may step in and perpetuate its existence by providing regulations of its own under which Senators and Representatives may be elected in the various States. This was intended to be used by Congress only if the worst came to the worst, as a matter of self-defense. In making these regulations one restriction was placed on Congress, however, namely, that "the place of choosing Senators" should not be altered.

It may be well to ask, what is the evidence that this interpretation of the Constitution is the true one? The proof is of two kinds: first, the general consideration, already spoken of, that the Constitution could not be otherwise harmonized, in view of the conditions which the experience of the Confederation made it necessary to meet; second, the contemporary writings on the subject.

In the Federal Convention which drew up the constitution, the clause which we are now considering was discussed carefully August 9, 1787. James Madison, in his "Debates in the Federal Convention," gives us the only account of this discussion in existence. Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Rutledge doubted the wisdom of the provision which we have now in the latter part of Article I, Section 4, Clause 1 of the Constitution, which was then worded, "But their provisions concerning them may at any time be altered by the Legislature of the United States." So they moved to strike it out; they thought the States could be trusted to attend to the matter.

The motion of Messrs. Pinckney and Rutledge was lost; the clause, which was article 6, section 1, of the first draft, was retained, and after being embellished by the hand of Governeur Morris, most probably, it was given to us in the present form of Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1 of the Constitution. Mr. Madison in explaining it says: "This was meant to give the national legislature a power not only to alter the provisions of the States, but to make regulations, in case the States should fail or refuse altogether."

After the Constitution went from the Federal Convention to Congress, Congress submitted it to the States for ratification. The discussions were long in some States and conducted with great vigor by both Federalists and anti-Federalists. During this period of discussion Hamilton, Madison and Jay wrote the papers, afterwards collected and known as "The Federalist," in explanation of the Constitution. Hamilton, whom the Republicans delight to speak of as

the apostle of their principles of government, whose ideal of government was a strongly centralized one, was a member of the Federal Convention. In the Federalist he agrees that the clause means just what Madison says; he speaks of Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1 of the Constitution as the provision "which authorizes the national legislature to regulate, in the last resort, the election of it own members."

This article was published in New York, February 22, 1788. At that time only 6 States had ratified the Constitution. Hamilton was directing his argument to the 7 States which had not ratified it. He does not suggest anywhere that the federal government may control the elections of either Senators or Representatives except when "extraordinary circumstances might render that interposition necessary to its safety;" and this view prevailed in every State ratifying convention which mentioned the subject Some were satisfied with merely putting on record their understanding of the clause; others, however, adopted formal resolutions asking for an amendment to the Constitution, or protesting against the clause, etc.

As Mr. Hemphill pointed out, June 26, 1890, in the House, this clause of the Constitution caused more uneasiness than any other part of the Constitution. Eight out of thirteen State ratification conventions expressed themselves formally; all took fundamentally the same position. From all the evidence thus collected it is clear that when the Constitution was made, it was understood that the part of it referring to Congressional elections meant: First, that the primary control of the elections of Representatives belonged to the States; second, that the final control belonged to Congress, and could be exercised upon conditions only; these conditions were (*a*) when a State refused to provide machinery for electing Representatives; (*b*) when it was unable to do so from any cause.

Not only is the bill unconstitutional on the general ground which has just been pointed out, but throughout there are specific provisions which are unconstitutional.

(1) Article 1, Section 2, Clause 1 of the Constitution gives the States entire control of the qualifications of voters for members of the House of Representatives: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requested for the electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature." As each State fixes the qualifications of the electors of members of its own legislature, it follows that it fixes the qualifications of the electors of members of the United State House of Representatives. The Republicans do not deny this. Yet, in Section 8, of the Force bill, power is given to supervisors, *i. e.*, to federal officers, to pass upon qualifications of electors. Clause 7 of this Section says that if a voter's right to vote is not passed upon "at once" by the State or territorial or local inspectors, the supervisors may pass upon the case and receive the ballot offered. Furthermore, the power to carry on the process of registration implies a power to pass on the qualifications of voters in many cases. This passing on the qualifications of voters would affect not only Congressional, but State and Presidential elections also; for it is well known that it is the custom in many, if not in all States, to put the names of candidates for all offices, Federal, State and local,

being voted for, on the same ticket. And not satisfied with this interference, the Republicans go further and attempt, in practice, to make null the educational qualification now prescribed in some States by directing the supervisors to point out to any voter the proper box in which to cast his ballot.

(2) As will be seen, the bill provides for a number of non-judicial functions to be performed by the courts of the United States. The political duties assigned to them will be examined in detail hereafter. It is enough here to note that from the time of Washington until now these courts have protested against doing business not brought before them in a strictly judicial way. Furthermore, the section which provides for contests of election certificates was evidently intended, and it was so declared by many Republicans, to do away with contests in the House, where much time is wasted on the subject at each section. Yet, Article 1, Section 5, Clause 1, of the Constitution provides that "each House *shall*" decide contests for itself. After the United States Circuit Court has passed upon the right of contesting members to a certificate for a seat in the House, its decision would be subject to revision by the House itself. According to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Court of Claims cases, this denial of power of final jurisdiction to the Court and the subjection of its decision to revision by any other department of the Government makes the duty here prescribed non-judicial.

(3) In several sections of this bill duties are prescribed for State officers in connection with registration, counting of votes, etc. This is plainly unconstitutional. The registrar, *e. g.*, is bound by State law to do certain things; he is responsible to his State and to it alone for the faithful discharge of its duties. This bill provides that supervisors may change the books and registers,—*i.e.*, State officers, are "directed" by federal law to act in accordance with the commands of federal officers.

(4) An attempt is made to provide punishments for offenses against State laws by State officers. Clearly this is no matter for the Federal Government to deal with.

VII.—EXPEDIENCY.

It is believed, then, that the foregoing discussion suffices to show that the bill proposed is clearly unconstitutional. But let us lay aside this question. There is another standpoint from which the measure must be viewed. The question of expediency must be carefully considered. Is the bill expedient? Is public opinion behind it? Do the people want it? Let us see what objections, general and specific, may be urged against it. Let us determine whether it is a scheme concocted by Republican politicians or whether it is a patriotic and statesmanlike measure devised in response to a demand from the great body of American people.

For a century, when this bill was proposed, it had been unnecessary for Congress to use that reserve power over the elections of its own members given it in Article 1. Section 1, Clause 1, of the Constitution. Why? Because there had never been a proper occasion to do so. According to the historical meaning of this clause, it was to be used only when States refused or failed to send members to Congress, as several had done during the period of the Confedera-

tion. The States had been left alone in their own spheres, so far as this subject was concerned. None deny that there have been frauds of various kinds in State and Federal elections since the foundation of the government; but the States have been left to correct these; in many respects they have succeeded, and, as will be seen later, they are continuing their good work—even in the very section of the country at which Messrs. Lodge and Rowell, and other Republicans say the bill is especially directed. But so far as these frauds are concerned, Congress need not suffer by them. Provision is made in the Constitution, Article 1, Section 1, Clause 1, by which each House may amply protect itself. That claimants to seats in the lower House have not hesitated to appeal to this power reserved to that House "to be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members," is evidenced by the fact that over 800 contested election cases have been brought before the House of Representatives during the first century of the Government's history.

Distrust of the People.

The fear that the States would not deal properly with the elections of Representatives and the desire of Congress to take to itself the entire control of these indicate a distrust of the people. Through seventy-two years of the Government's history the country was ruled by Federalists, Democrats, and Whigs, and no need was found for this law. After the Republicans had ruled it for nearly thirty years, with the exception of one Presidential term, they claim that the country needs it. If their claim be true it is a woful acknowledgment of the failure of popular government. To take away from the people of the States a power which they have exercised for a century condemns them as unworthy to exercise the power; the Republicans show by their action that they have not faith in the honesty and patriotism of the people. If this government is not to be run by the people themselves and according to their desires, but by a centralized piece of election machinery with the engine located at Washington, then republican government is a failure. But this no one is willing to admit. Republican government is a success. The opponents of Democracy have been accustomed periodically to assert their lack of faith in the people and the superior ability of their leaders; they have been accustomed to propose and sometimes to pass laws which took power from the people and gave it to leaders—the few. It is too late in the history of the republic to reattempt this, though. The ideas of Mr. Lodge, the sponsor for this bill, are extremely federalistic; in the last decade of the eighteenth century they might have been accepted as ideal by certain classes of people. But to-day the faith of the American people in democracy is so well established, the republic which our fathers set up on this side the Atlantic rests on such a bed-rock of popular confidence, that the leaders of a party which distrusts the people will lose the support of the people whom they distrust. Just as surely as the Democracy, led by Thomas Jefferson, rose in its might in 1800 and overthrew the Federalists because they distrusted the people, so surely will the Democracy of to-day, led by Grover Cleveland, overthrow the Republican party if it continues its advocacy of a measure showing as much distrust of the people as does the Force bill.

CENTRALIZATION.

Just as the Republican party is a party which distrusts the people, so it is a party of centralization. The Force bill seems to be only one part of a great scheme, which Republican leaders have kept in mind for some years past, to centralize the power of the Government at Washington. The Reconstruction legislation, the force Bill of 1875 and the Protection movement are all parts of this scheme. Democrats consider those parts of the Constitution which leave local concerns under the control of the State governments as one of its most valuable and successful features. To be sure, it follows necessarily that as the General Government grows older it will become stronger, and, in that far, more centralized; but our fathers, in planning the form of government which we have recorded in the Constitution, determined that the General and State governments should each have spheres of their own, there was a line of division in the functions to be performed by them. Among those things left to the control of the States were the suffrage and elections; and among those elections the election of Representatives in Congress (except in the emergency described above). In this inevitable growth of strength on the part of the General Government, let it confine itself within the lines intended for it, and not interfere with that function of the State which they have cared for so well, the election of Federal Representatives.

The Force bill is not only distrustful of the people and centralizing in its operation, but sectional in purpose; it is an endeavor to revive the division among brethren so happily passing away. During the debate on the bill in the House, from June 26 to July 2, 1890, the Republicans devoted most of their time to discussing the South. While Democrats pointed out general and specific objections to the bill, Republicans endeavored to stir up old-time issues on which they have depended so much in the past for gaining votes. The time has gone when intelligent people will allow a party to bring up issues of thirty years ago for the purpose of winning their favor, and any party which attempts it will meet deserved defeat. The people want no third issues brought forward to revive old partisan feelings; they are now engaged upon the task of settling the great questions of the day, taxation and government administration.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS.

Having considered the three general objections to the bill—distrust of the people, centralization and sectional intent—let us take up some of the details of the bill and see if there are not specific objections to it. As we take it up section by section, at nearly every step we find something to criticise adversely.

(1) The first provision of the bill, which naturally attracts us, is how the law is to go into operation. In section 2 there are three kinds of territorial units mentioned into which, in any part of the country, the bill may be called into operation: (1) cities or towns of 20,000 inhabitants or upwards; (2) counties or parishes each forming only part of a Congressional district; (3) entire Congressional districts, no part of which is in a city or town of 20,000 inhabitants and upwards. Whenever 100 resident citizens petition the chief supervisor of the

judicial district for the bill to go into operation in the first or third unit, or 50 such citizens in the second unit, it shall be granted. As was said in connection with the discussion of the aim of the bill, though it is directed primarily at certain parts of the United States, if passed, the law would operate throughout the country. If the Republicans had wished to deal squarely with the subject, they should have accepted the amendment, offered in the House by Mr. Lehbleach of New Jersey, that the law should be compulsory in its operation, *i.e.*, apply to all parts of the country alike, without regard to petitions for it. No, cry Mr. Lodge, and other Republicans; the bill is thoroughly national; any district that wants it may have it. The plan which the Republican leaders intended to pursue was evidently to have the law called into operation in the Democratic strongholds. In most of the Congressional districts which they intended thus to have supervised, estimated by different Republicans from twenty to sixty-nine in number, there are many very ignorant voters; the Republican leaders could, in one way or another, get control of enough of these to petition for the law to go into operation, and after putting it into operation, the result could be declared as the leaders desired. The Republicans feared to face the people with such a bill which was *avowedly* intended to operate everywhere. But it can be easily shown that, without reasonable doubt, if passed, it would operate throughout the country. In the first place, the number of those who would get office under the operation of the law would largely outnumber, by 500 per cent. probably, the number necessary to sign the petition calling the bill into operation. The greed for the fees which would come from these offices would be sufficient inducement to those hoping to get office to petition for the law to go into operation. A large majority of these would be Republicans; for a majority of the appointing officers, the judges, who would appoint the canvassers of the Congressional vote, the chief supervisors themselves, and the supervisors, upon recommendation of the chief supervisors, and the United States marshals, who would appoint the deputy marshals on the request of the chief supervisors, would be Republicans. Thus, if the bill ever becomes law, we shall see a Republican measure passed with the avowed intent of applying to a few districts only, applied everywhere, *upon petition of Republicans*. Mr. T. V. Powderly feels sure that every Congressional district in the United States has 50 or 100 citizens who would sign the necessary petition to the chief supervisor, and that if the people did not think of the matter themselves, the candidates would suggest it in the hope of gaining votes. Secondly, even if the "bread and butter brigade" did not petition for it, it is safe to venture the assertion that there is not a city or town of 20,000 inhabitants or a Congressional district in the United States in which there are not 100 of that class of men popularly denominated "cranks," who would petition to have the law put into operation merely in order to observe its working. Thus the law, which is apparently intended to be voluntary and partial in operation, would be forced upon every Congressional district.

(3) Perhaps the most despicable provisions of the bill are those providing for the desecration of the courts. John Marshall said, in the Virginia convention of 1829-30: "I have always thought from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge that an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful or a

sinning people was an ignorant, a corrupt or a dependent judiciary." The judicial department of our Government has proven the balance wheel of the system; it has been more successful than any other department; it has surpassed expectations; it has excited more envy among foreigners than either the legislative or the executive department; it has been universally respected at home and abroad. Yet, this bill proposes to cause that respect to be forfeited by plunging the United States Circuit Court into partisan politics. Heretofore, the election machinery has been in the hands of executive officers of the State; now, it is proposed, when Congressional elections are held, to put it into the hands of the Federal judiciary. The inevitable result would be a loss of the confidence of the people.

When the petition for supervision in any city, county or Congressional District is sent to the chief supervisor, it is his duty, in due time, to notify the judge of the United States Circuit Court, for whose judicial district he has been previously appointed by that Court; the Court shall meet within a specified time and appoint supervisors for each precinct included in the territory in which supervision is petitioned for. These supervisors shall be appointed from lists presented to the judge by the chief supervisor. As a result, a great Republican machine would be created. The judges of the United States Circuit Courts are nearly all Republican; the chief supervisors already appointed by these are, and those to be appointed would be, Republicans. These Republican chief supervisors would recommend and these Republican judges would appoint only so many Democratic supervisors as the law requires—one out of every three. There would, therefore, be on each Board of Supervisors for each precinct a majority of Republicans, as already shown, who could carry things their own way. Even if the judges were disposed to make fair appointments of supervisors, they would be confined to lists presented by Republican chief supervisors, which would undoubtedly contain as few names of Democrats as possible. But the probability is that the judges would show their partisanship when they were called on to do so, as they would be by this proposed law, and the Republican machine would work on smoothly.

Suppose something went wrong in the conduct of either the chief supervisors or the judges. If a chief supervisor were prosecuted, he would be tried by the judge who appointed him; would it be probable that the judge would condemn his own former judgment by sentencing to a severe punishment the man whom he had selected for office? No. But you answer, impeachment is provided for the chief supervisor and for the judge in such cases. This is true; impeachment would be the proper penalty for their misconduct. Both hold office by life tenure and neither could be got rid of except by impeachment. The House of Representatives "shall have the sole power of impeachment," according to article 1, section 2, clause 5; and, therefore, if these officers were to be impeached, the House would have to take the initiative. But just as in the case of the trial of a chief supervisor by the judge of the United States Circuit Court, the master would not condemn the servant whom he had chosen. So here the servant would not turn and smite his master: the members of the House would not impeach these officers to whose actions their election was due. It is well known that impeachment is a long and difficult process, and before the investigation of the frauds of a given Congressional election could

take place, and articles of impeachment based upon such investigation be prepared by the House and presented to the Senate, the members elected by such frauds would come into office at the opening of the session of the next Congress and stop such process of impeachment. In the planning of this Republican machine there seems to have been no mistake as to making it an efficient instrument of fraud. The planners foresaw that the penalty for impeachment could never reach their tools in office.

We have recently had in, Florida, an exhibition of how the courts would proceed to get proper juries to try these cases of accused chief supervisors, and of the supervisors appointed by the judges. It is to be feared that when important cases are to come up, the Republican plan, as revealed by one of President Harrison's appointees, John R. Mizell, United States marshal for the Northern District of Florida, for the party bosses to "confer * * * and make a list of fifty or sixty names of true and tried Republicans from (their) county registration list for jurors, United States Court, and forward same to * * * Clerk of United States Court," would be put into effect. With plenty of Mizells throughout the country to superintend the matter of drawing juries, the judges would be relieved of the necessity of looking after the acquittals of their appointees, the juries would attend to that.

It seems strange that in a bill concerning elections a new jury law should be incorporated, yet such a law is proposed in section 38 of this bill. It has been remarked before there are no loopholes in the bill from a strictly Republican party point of view; the Republicans fear that under the present system of drawing juries, the supply of Mizells will run short and there might, therefore, be difficulty in having suitable juries to try election supervisor cases. The present law provides that the juries shall be drawn by the clerk of the United States Court and one jury commissioner of the opposite political party to that to which the clerk belongs. There is sometimes trouble made by this commissioner of the opposite party. So this bill proceeds to prepare a way by which he may be outvoted and practically eliminated. Section 38, called by Mr. Hemphill, the "jury-fixer," makes the other provisions of the bill really efficient and makes this part of the Republican plan harmonious with the remainder, on the question of majority rule, as was done in changing the number of supervisors from 2 in the Supervisor's Law of 1887 to 3 in the present bill. Section 38 says that the judge or judges of the United States Circuit Court shall appoint for each judicial district in their respective circuits three * * * jury commissioners. The restriction placed on the chief supervisors in detailing supervisors for each precinct, that only two of those should be of the same political party, is not found here. If all are to be appointed by these Republican Circuit Judges, and then, if a Democrat were appointed as one of three commissioners, he could have little or no influence, for the three are ordered by this section to "act by a majority vote." The votes of these jury commissioners is to draw the juries; and these juries are to try the cases of those supervisors accused of fraudulent conduct. Thus is completed the system for sheltering from harm the tools of a corrupt party machine. Mr. Hemphill spoke none too harshly of this section when he said, on the floor of the House, June 26, 1890: * "No more iniquitous proposition was ever submitted to any body of men for their approval than the proposition that the statute

law of the United States, which now provides an honest mode of selecting jurors (except where there are Mizells to juggle it), shall be altered so that the jurors shall hereafter be drawn * * * free from the presence of a witness of the opposite party," to the one drawing them.

Mr. Lodge disclosed that the provision for the appointment of election officers by judges was the best in the bill. Senator Hoar, who occupied in the Senate the attitude to the bill corresponding to that of Mr. Lodge in the House, disagreed with Mr. Lodge as to which was the most admirable provision; still, he bestowed his favor on the judicial part of it, just as Mr. Lodge had done, but specified particularly the section providing for the use of United States judges to decide contests of election certificates. Early and late the Senator has dwelt on this part of the bill. In his *Forum* article, referred to before, he eulogizes this feature; and, again, in his letter to Mr. Draper from Paris, July 29, 1892, also quoted before. Section 15 of the bill provides that as soon as the certificate of election is awarded by the United States Board of Canvassers—which certificate, be it remembered, is to have precedence with the Clerk of the House of Representatives in case the State officers declared a different person to be elected—any candidate who chooses to do so may contest the right to the certificate before the Judge of the United States Circuit Court in whose district the Congressional district lies. The judge is directed to examine into the whole matter. His decision is final as to who shall hold the certificate. This feature is objectionable; in the first place, we find the same objection that applies to the courts reviewing the acts of the supervisor; the Court is called on to reverse the judgment of its own appointee. It is a fundamental principle that judges should be free from any prejudice in considering a case. The freedom from interest generally displayed by the judicial department of our Government is what has made the life-term feature of appointments in that department acceptable to the American people. Yet here is a case where the judges are distinctly interested.

Secondly, there is the constitutional objection already referred to; that the performance of such functions are not judicial. Article 1, Section 5, Clause 1 of the Constitution makes the decision of the final possession of a seat in the House a matter for the House only to pass upon. Here, however, the Court is ordered to make a decision as to the possession of a certificate, and so far as any practical effect of deciding who shall hold that certificate is concerned, the decision of the Court is subject to revision by the House; any man claiming the seat may demand as his constitutional right that the House, and the House only, shall decide this question. It may be said, the Court is only called on to decide who shall hold the certificate, while the House decides who is to have the seat. This is true; but in a contest for a certificate, nothing is had in view but the seat, and so far as the practical effect is concerned, both are the same. Senator Hoar and Speaker Reed evidently view them as the same; for their argument in favor of the section is based upon the assumption that it will take contests out of the House and into the courts; reduce the expense of contests, leave the House more time for other business, and that it will be better to have judges pass upon the question than legislators themselves. So that, as already said, the courts are given what is entirely an unconstitutional function; if the attempt to make no final decision as to the possession of the seat, and leave the matter subject

to revision by the House, then they perform a new judicial function; if they attempt to make a final decision, they cut off the contestee from his constitutional right of having the House only pass upon the question.

Senator Hoar in his argument for the expediency of this section appeals to the experience of the English under the Act of 1868, providing for settlement of contests for seats in Parliament by the courts. This is unfair: in the first place, as has been shown, our Constitution makes no provision for conferring such a power on our courts by Congress, while in England, where there is no written constitution, Parliament is supreme and can do anything it believes to be expedient; Parliament can confer on English courts the power to make final decisions in these cases; Congress cannot do so for United States Courts. Therefore, in the second place, it is unfair for Senator Hoar to compare two entirely different systems. If Senator Hoar were to propose that the Constitution of the United States be amended, as Senator Saxton proposed last year for the New York Constitution in reference to the State Legislature, so that Congress might have power to confer such jurisdiction in United States Courts, his proposition would not only be well worth considering, but he could appeal with perfect fairness to English experience in support of it. Thirdly, the English judges take no such part in the conduct of elections as is prescribed for American judges in this bill; the English judges merely decide cases brought before them in a perfectly judicial way, as to who shall have certain contested seats in Parliament. In the Lodge bill, judges are directed to decide contests for certificates awarded by officers appointed by them as the results of elections whose whole conduct has been set in motion by the judges themselves. It is obviously unfair, therefore, in every way, for Senator Hoar to picture the good results which follow from a certain provision of an English law, and to conclude that similar results would flow from a similar provision operating under a radically different system and environment.

In 1876, our Government had an experience of its own, which may be appealed to with some fairness, as showing the probable result which would follow from the partisan use of judges to decide election contests. Though in that year the contest was in the Executive Department, the lesson which it taught us does not incline us to extend such a system to the legislative department.

(3) The supervisors appointed for each precinct are directed to "guard," "scrutinize," and "supervise" the elections where representatives are voted for and the preliminary steps of naturalization and registration leading up to such elections. The first duty performed by these supervisors is to see that registration is conducted according to their ideas. They are directed to attend all places where any of the business connected with registration is conducted; there they may challenge any person offering to register and require of any officer in charge—*i. e.*, a State officer—to make note of those challenged; they may also inspect and copy the registration rolls prepared by State officers; and when they deem proper, they may write their names on every page of the registration book. We see, first, a duty prescribed for State officers, which has been pointed out to be unconstitutional; secondly, serious interference of Federal officers with State officers in their execution of State laws.

Not satisfied with the evil of a registration system, the interference with State officers just pointed out, the framers of the bill have put into the sixth

and eleventh parts of section 8, provisions for a "house-to-house canvass," by supervisors, in cities or towns of 20,000 inhabitants or upwards, when the chief supervisor in charge so ordered; in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or upwards, when required by the chief supervisor, the supervisors shall make this canvass more thorough, "to ascertain by inquiry at any dwelling, building, or other place of abode in any such election district or voting precinct which they may be required to so canvass, the name, age, nativity, term of residence in country, state, city, county, pariah, district or precinct, and other qualifications as a voter of every male person therein residing; and the United States marshal may be required by the chief supervisor to appoint special deputy marshals to aid in the canvass. All of this "political inquisition," it is to be observed, may be carried on at the command of one man—the chief supervisor. The officers who carry on the inquisition may go to the house of any man, and there, in his absence, inquire of his family concerning his political belief, etc. As Mr. Tucker shows, the object is not to find whether a man is properly registered, "but the political work of the dominant party is to be done by hirelings paid from the public treasury." It is a fine piece of sarcasm for Mr. Lodge to say that this part of the bill will be of special worth in cities of the North where registration lists are permanent, "to have these permanent lists thoroughly overhauled from time to time by men who stand outside with no local interests to subserve."

That this portion of the bill, in reference to the "house-to-house canvass," has a political significance seems very probable from an obscure part of section 24, which provides that "no entering of record of the reports of the house canvass provided for in the act shall extend beyond the block number, and the number or name of the Election and Ward or Assembly District, and the name and residence of those males who are shown to be twenty-one years and upwards and who claim the right to vote." In other words the part of the information which is collected that will be of use especially to the political bosses of the Republican party need not be recorded where it is to be open to public inspection; it may be turned over to the bosses. It is hard to understand why, if for any non-partisan reason, it is necessary to collect all the information provided for in section 8, all of such information should not be made matter of record. The bill does not leave it optional with the officers collecting the information how much they shall record, but tells them that only specified things shall be recorded.

(4) The next pre-election duty to be performed by supervisors is the "scrutinizing" of naturalization. Here again they are given access to the rooms and papers of the State officers who conduct naturalization, and in so far, may interfere with the latter.

(5) When election day is at hand, the supervisors attend the polls in each precinct and take part in the conduct of the election. The first duty provided for them in relation to the boxes for the reception of ballots is an interference with State laws. It is well known that some States provide separate boxes for ballots cast for different officers; the man who puts his ballot in the wrong box loses it; and thus an educational qualification is enforced, for any man who could read could put his ballot in the proper box. This bill provides that the supervisors shall make the State law of no effect by pointing out to every

voter who so desires the proper box into which to deposit his ballot for representative.

(6) If a State officer hesitates about receiving the vote of a challenged voter and "shall neglect or refuse * * * to pass upon the qualifications of any such challenged person at once," then a supervisor shall pass "upon the qualifications of such person," and if he decides that the challenged person has a right to vote, "it shall be the duty of the supervisor of election who did so act and so decide to receive the vote of such challenged person and to deposit it in the ballot-box provided for votes cast for a Representative or Delegate in Congress." This ends the matter; and the supervisor, who acts under federal law, passes on the qualifications of voters, which are prescribed by State law. Clearly such a provision would be unconstitutional.

(7) After all ballots have been cast, counting takes place. There is provided in Section 9 a curious system of drawing ballots from the box by tens and passing them from hand to hand until each inspector and each supervisor has counted them. Further details are also provided as to announcing the results, keeping and comparing tallies, and counting "scratched" tickets. The rules laid down on these subjects apply to local as well as federal officers. Furthermore, the exact physical position of each inspector with regard to a supervisor is provided. Again we see the Constitution violated in that the law prescribes duties for State officers.

Many interferences by this bill with State laws and State authority have been pointed out already. Mr. Lehlbach called the attention of the House, June 26, 1890, to the fact that "conflict of authority between the election officers *elected* and those by the supervisor *appointed*" would be inevitable. The laws of States are various and no federal law can be harmonious with them all; so the bill proceeds. To get rid of these differences by providing that "the regulations as to such elections in the several States are hereby so altered as to conform" to federal law; and, furthermore, that, after 1890, the States should not change "the times and * * * the manner now provided by the laws of such States." It has been seen that many States provide that elections for State and federal officers be held on the same day and in the same manner. Economy and simplicity of method both argue for the wisdom of such laws. Yet this bill says that so far as these election laws concern Representatives, they shall not be changed. It seems incredible, and yet it is true, that a man who professes so great an interest in ballot reform as Mr. Lodge, who praises the Australian system so highly, should here say to the States, "If you have an Australian system of electing Representatives, keep it; if you have not, you shall never have one." Mr. Tucker showed that the only logical position to take, and Senator Chandler admits this point practically, is for the federal government to take entire charge of these Congressional elections, or leave them entirely to the States. The constant confusion and conflict of authority that would result from this mixing of State and federal authority would inevitably lead the federal government to take the matter entirely into its hands.

According to the professions of the supporters of this bill it was intended to apply to the election of members of the lower House of Congress only and theoretically it confines itself to these professions; but practically it would interfere with the elections of State and Federal officers when voted for on the day

for electing Representatives, as is done in many States. Names of candidates for all offices, Federal, State, and local, are generally printed on the same ticket. Hence, when a ballot is cast for Representative, it is cast also for other officers, and in so far as Supervisors control that casting, they control the results of election of State and local officers. It has been seen already that supervisors, by their power to challenge voters and to pass upon their qualifications, in connection with registration and with casting of ballots, do control the casting of ballots and take away from State and local officers their power to execute State laws as to the suffrage. Therefore, according to the provisions of this bill, federal officers have a great and possibly a controlling influence upon the election of State and local officers.

It is hardly necessary to argue the question that absolutely the only constitutional right that Congress has to interfere with State elections is to provide laws to see that the fifteenth amendment be enforced, and that States make no discrimination in their elections on account of the race, color or previous condition of servitude.

(10) The same reasoning that we have just gone through with as to the election of State officers applies to the election of Presidential electors. Yet, according to Article II., Section 1, Clause 2 of the Constitution the States shall have entire control of such election.

(11) No more partisan system of appointing officers than is contained in this bill could be easily devised; its method is directly opposed to civil service reform principles. In the first place, the judges who, according to the bill, are to make the appointments, are nearly all Republicans, and their tenures of office are for life; they are not responsible to the people, and could be removed only by impeachment. These judges are to appoint the chief supervisors. These chief supervisors hold office on the same tenure as the judges. From the lists drawn up by the chief supervisors the judges appoint supervisors, not less than double the number needed to officiate in each precinct where supervision prevails. From these appointees the chief supervisors assign officers for duty. The term of office of a supervisor runs to sixty days after the election is held. This curious term of service would have the effect, if it were not so drawn by the framers with the intent, of shielding supervisors from any prosecution in State courts for violating State elections or making false returns as to State officers. This provision is in harmony with the plan, previously alluded to, of shielding federal election officers from punishment.

In addition to the foregoing officers, each circuit court also appoints for each State within its jurisdiction a board of canvassers of the congressional vote. Their duties are to tabulate the results which are sent to them by election officers. Their decision is binding on the Clerk of the House of Representatives in making up his roll of members, unless revoked by the court upon contest.

The number of deputy marshals who may be appointed is unlimited. If we will recall the experiences of 1876 under the present supervisors' law, we should expect the number to be large! "The number of special deputy marshals who may, under any provision of law, be appointed for election purposes shall be determined from time to time at conferences between the marshal and the chief supervisor of elections, and no other or greater number of special deputies shall

be appointed than the chief supervisor of election shall from time to time certify to be, in his opinion, necessary to observe the manner in which the election officers are discharging their duties to enforce the election laws of the United States and to prevent frauds and irregularities in naturalization." The United States marshals are nearly all Republicans, and we should doubtless have Republican deputies at every polling place if the bill were passed and the law put into effect.

Thus the whole system of officers, their appointments and their terms of office was shaped after most perfect and vicious methods of partisanship.

(12) In addition to all these officers referred to above, there are other United States officials who would be called on, if thought necessary, to attend the polls, and these are the most objectionable of all. In their extremities of partisanship the Republicans forgot all principles of civil liberty, and were willing to surround each polling place with federal soldiers and to have re-enacted the scenes of reconstruction days. That United States troops might be used at the polls followed as a necessity from the bill if it becomes a law. Mr. Lodge admitted this when he said of the Force bill, in his speech at Portland, Maine, in August, 1890: "It is a law of the United States and it is the duty of the President of the United States to enforce it." Mr. Brosius, a Republican member from Pennsylvania, explained this "bayonets at the polls" proposition, in the House, June 28, 1890, in even more vigorous language than Mr. Lodge. He said: "I am for the bill on the distinct ground that it is a constitutional and necessary measure—made necessary by those who fear its operations and justified by the conditions created by those who oppose its passage. And when passed I am for its enforcement, North and South, if need be, with a firmness and effectiveness. * * * Behind the Constitution are the Army and the Navy. Every sword, every bayonet, every cannon and every dollar of the nation's wealth are pledged to the enforcement of every one of its provisions."

(13) The number of officers which this bill provides for would be enormous; 250,000 to 500,000 is a moderate estimate. These men would get their pay from the United States Treasury, and be supporters of the party in power. The expense would be great; certainly not less than $10,000,000; probably more than $20,000,000. The section providing for the expenses are numerous; in fact, it seemed an especial object of the framers of the bill to make its pay feature attractive to prospective office-holders. All these office-holders and all their expense would be additional to State officers and State expense for the same election. To people already burdened by unnecessary taxation, this feature of large expenditures does not make the bill more attractive.

VII.—IS IT WISE?

(1) Would it accomplish its pretended aim?

The Republicans say the bill is directed at the frauds in the elections of the great cities of the North and of the Southern States. So far as these cities are concerned, the Republicans claim that the Supervisors Law of 1871 has been efficient. But suppose it has not been efficient there; will the bill be so? According to their claim, the bill is only an *extension* of the law of 1871. If that law

was efficient, there is no need of the bill; if inefficient, an extension of it would most probably be inefficient also. So far as the Southern States are concerned, the testimony of all thinking and observing men of both parties in the South is that the bill would do more harm than good, even if it accomplished what Republicans claim it to be intended to do. The Republicans assume that all negroes are Republicans; that the Republican party holds them in an eternal political bondage. Recent Southern State elections and other evidence show that many negroes are Democrats. The Republicans say, however, that in Congressional elections negroes will surely vote the Republican ticket. It has been shown already that State, local and federal elections are so closely connected that it is impossible to divorce them; and it is a well-known feature of American political life that men who vote with a given party in town or city elections vote with it also in State and National elections. Therefore, if Republicans were to carry the Southern States in Congressional elections, their party would necessarily go into power in the States. This would mean a re-establishment of local government as it existed in the Southern States during the reconstruction period. All know how the South suffered in every way, financially, politically and socially, from the negro—"carpet-bag"—"scalawag" rule. Shall such an experience be repeated in the South? Do any American citizens want to see their Southern brothers suffer so again? Do men who are away from the South, whose capital is profitably invested there now, want their incomes from that section cut off? Inevitably whites, North and South, must suffer from such a bill, and no negro has ever shown how his race could receive any benefit from it. As Mr. Cleveland said, at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1887, "the South has peculiar problems which it must be left alone to solve. Experience shows that it is best to leave her to pursue her policy. The only motives which Republicans can have for bringing forward into politics the so-called 'Southern problem' is a selfish hope to profit thereby."

(2) Is it necessary in order to accomplish the pretended aim?

So far as Northern cities are concerned, according to Republican admissions, in connection with their discussion of the Supervisors Law of 1887, the bill is not necessary. So far as the South is concerned, she is solving her own problems of suffrage and ballot reform, and need only to be let alone. Already, in the border States, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri, ballot reform laws have been adopted; and in many other States they are being discussed. South Carolina and Mississippi prefer to approach the problem by reforming the qualifications for exercising the suffrage. Why break into and practically destroy these attempts. Mr. Lodge's position is consistent; he professes to favor ballot reform, and yet, in Section 37 of the bill bearing his name, it was provided that no State should change its election laws as to the election of Representatives (which meant, in practice, the entire system of election laws) after the passage of the act. Then, again, he has said, time after time, that his whole aim is to increase the publicity of Congressional elections. In September, 1890, he said: "The whole purpose of this bill may be summed up in one word, 'publicity.'" Mr. T. V. Powderly made sufficient reply to this when he said: "The publicity will intimidate as surely as though a row of bayonets circled the polling-place."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S RECORD AND THE BROKEN PLEDGES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican platform of 1888 was as follows:

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest Government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have they deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: 'The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.'"

This plank denounced the civil service reformers of 1884 who had voted for Cleveland as deserters, and declared that Mr. Cleveland had broken his promises of reform. Never before had the Republican party, or any party, made a distinct promise that they would keep their own pledges of reform—"we will not fail to keep our pledges." The failure to keep these pledges then becomes a positive act of infamy for the party guilty of it. No matter what views one may have of civil service reform, the distinct pledge of any party upon this subject, if broken, is an evidence of bad faith so great that no subsequent declarations can ever be trusted. If there was anything (as McKinley said in the debate in Congress), to which the Republican party had pledged itself, more than to any other, it was to civil service reform. Let us consider in detail the promise and the performance.

Extension of the Classified System.

"*The reform of the civil service,* auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, *should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all grades of service to which it is applicable.*"

This reform already established was set forth in what is known as the Pendleton bill, which was passed under a Republican administration, although Mr. Pendleton who introduced it was the Democratic Senator from Ohio. It provided for the appointment of three Civil Service Commissioners, who

should establish rules and competitive examinations for admission to the civil service, irrespective of party considerations, in which proved merit should be the standard of eligibility.

This, then, was the reform system already established by law which was to be extended to all grades of the service to which it was applicable. The only extensions of the classified service made by Mr. Harrison in pretended pursuance of the promises of the platform, were the extensions to about seven hundred teachers and superintendents in the Indian Bureau, less than 200 persons in the Fish Commission, and a few employees in the Patent Office. The entire number of such extensions is not far from one thousand.

When the Civil Service law first took affect there were about 16,000 subject to its provisions. At the close of President Cleveland's term there were, after including the railway mail service which he had incorporated, more than 30,000 men in the classified service. But there are more than 100,000 in the entire Federal Civil Service which still remain unclassified. Of this immense number President Harrison has extended the Civil Service rules to about 1,000 employees.

Secretary Tracy has, indeed, provided for a registration of laborers in the Navy Department, under a system quite similar to the classified service, although it is not embraced within the rules, or placed under control of the Civil Service Commissioners, and it would be discretionary for any subsequent Secretary of the Navy to abolish his regulations. With these trifling exceptions there has been absolutely nothing done by the present administration in performance of its promises that the reform system should be extended to all the branches of the classified service to which it is applicable.

The civil service law itself provided that it should apply to all post-offices and custom-house offices having fifty or more employees, and that it *should be extended to other post-offices and custom-houses having less than fifty employees, whenever so ordered by the President.* The law itself designated these custom-houses and post-offices as places to which it was applicable. It was merely a question of time and convenience when it should be applied to them. This extension was not made at first, because it was considered best to begin with the larger offices, and gradually to extend its provisions to those employing a smaller number of subordinates.

After the accession of President Harrison to office, his own Civil Service Commissioners, Messrs. Lyman, Roosevelt and Thompson, decided that such extension ought to be made. The clerical force of the office and the appropriations of Congress were sufficient to justify it. The Commissioners reported recommending its extension to post-offices having twenty-five employees or more, and afterwards, in 1891, recommended its extension to post-offices, custom-houses and internal revenue districts in which there are twenty-five or more employed, as well as to clerks in the navy yards, to the employees of the District of Columbia, to the mints and sub-treasuries, and to all free-delivery post-offices.

The law itself declared that the system was applicable to these places. They were subordinate, administrative offices, having no necessary connection with politics. Yet, during his entire term, President Harrison has utterly failed to extend it to a single post-office or custom-house having less than fifty employees,

or to any of the other offices to which this extension was recommended. A clearer violation of the written promise of the party could not be imagined.

The President's explanation (or lack of explanation) for his failure to extend the rules is shown in the following correspondence.

In December last, Mr. Wm. D. Foulke, President of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, addressed the following letter to the President:

"In the last Republican platform it was declared that the classified system should be extended to all grades of the service to which it was applicable. This declaration was made a pledge which the party promised not to violate. In accepting the nomination you made this promise your own, expressing your concurrence in your letter of acceptance. In common with many others, I labored earnestly for your election, with confidence that this promise would be observed. The Civil Service Reform act designated post-offices and custom-houses having less than fifty employees as offices to which the system is applicable, by providing for its extension to these places whenever so ordered by you. The declaration of the platform could have no meaning if it did not refer to such offices. The able Civil Service Commissioners appointed by you have repeatedly urged that this system be extended to post-offices having twenty-five employees or more; yet during three years of your term you have not made it. May I ask, with all respect, while this promise remains unfulfilled, how shall we know hereafter upon what pledge of the Republican party or its candidate we can rely?"

To this the President replied to Mr. Foulke as follows, under date of December 31, 1891:

"I have not time this morning to discuss at any length the question which you present, or to attempt any re-statement of what I have attempted to do in the promotion of civil-service reform movements since I have been here. My thought was that the first thing to do was to satisfy the country that *the law was being faithfully and impartially administered as to those offices already classified*. I think a good deal has been accomplished in that direction, and there has been an important extension of the classified service. The subject presented by you, as well as some other suggested movements, has been having, and will have, my consideration, but I am not now prepared to announce any programme."

Comment can add nothing to such a letter. The President has *no time* to discuss the question why he has broken his word, and after nearly three years of "consideration," is still unprepared to announce any programme for carrying out the pledges of the Convention which nominated him.

Census Bureau.

If there was any branch of the service where, in accordance with the Republican promise, appointments should have depended upon the fitness of the appointee, as proved by examination and probation, and not upon patronage and political favor, it was the Census Bureau. It was the plain duty of those in charge of this Bureau to give to the people the exact facts as to all matters inquired of, unwarped by political bias.

In every decade the Government spends millions of dollars upon this census, and the importance of accuracy and thoroughness in the work cannot be overestimated. The census is at once a record of our progress as a people, a picture of our condition in each successive ten years of our national history, and the basis of instructive comparisons with the condition and progress of other nations. The representation of the several States in the popular branch of Congress rests upon its statistics of population. No one will dispute that unfairness, incapacity or blundering in the census is a grave public misfortune,

and that the officers charged with a work of such importance should use every precaution to prevent even the belief that their work is partial or incomplete.

The census ought to be as free from partisan color as the judiciary. Otherwise no one can rely upon the accuracy of its conclusions. To gain the confidence of the people, it ought to be not merely fair and just, but it should be removed from the appearance of corrupt or partisan influence. It is an illegal act for a trustee to put himself in a position where he can make profit out of the trust funds in his control. An evident analogy makes it an improper act for one political party so to monopolize the taking of the census as to be in a position to profit from the result. If an administration has a free choice between a non-political and a political agency for taking this enumeration, and chooses the latter, composed of officials of its own political faith, the presumption is against the fairness of a census so taken. Suspicion is cast on such a census in advance of enumeration, and, if at the close of the work, many inaccuracies are shown, resulting in an advantage to the party by whom it is taken, the work is sure to be discredited.

It had already been demonstrated, by actual experience, that the patronage system as applied to this branch of the service was liable to grave abuses, and frequently resulted in the appointment of incompetent officials, and that the reform system was well adapted to a Bureau of this kind. This is manifest from the previous experience of the Census Bureau itself, as well as from an examination of the methods pursued in the taking of statistics in the State of Massachusetts, and from a comparison between the patronage and merit systems in the taking of the census in England and Scotland.

The defective results in the Census of 1870 were directly traceable to the patronage system. Francis A. Walker, under whose supervision this census, as well as that of 1880, was taken, says in a publication of the American Statistical Association (December, 1890): "The local supervision of the census in the Southern States was, by the defeat of Gen. Garfield's bill, thrown back into the hands of the marshals of the United States courts. The whole battle against the Garfield bill had been fought on the question of patronage. It was for the purpose of retaining this large body of more or less lucrative appointments in the hands of the dominant party that the United States marshals rallied at Washington during the winter of 1869 and 1870 to defeat the House measure. They wanted to use these thousands of offices as a means of strengthening their hands in their respective districts, to fight the Ku-Klux and the illicit distillers, to build up the Republican party and consolidate the negro vote, and, in general, this was precisely the use to which these offices were put. The result was an enumeration which we know now, from indisputable evidence, to have been in many parts of several Southern States inadequate, partial, and inaccurate, often in a shameful degree."

The improvement produced by the elimination of partisanship from the census is shown in the satisfactory results and general confidence in the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.

If, then, the promise of the Republican platform had any significance at all, it meant that the President would extend this competitive system to the clerks of the Census Bureau when that Bureau should be established. Mr.

Harrison, in concurring with and adopting the platform, distinctly made this promise his own.

The President was solicited by the Civil Service Commissioners to cause a system of competitive examinations to be adopted for the clerks in this office, but he declined to have this done.

The Act of March 1, 1889 (section 4) provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent of the Census, designate the number of supervisors, who are to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and directs that "each supervisor shall designate to the superintendent suitable persons, and with the consent of the superintendent, shall employ such persons as enumerators within his district, one for each subdivision, who shall be selected wholly with *reference to fitness and without reference to their political party affiliations.*" It will thus be seen that the Act itself endeavors to incorporate the principle underlying civil service reform, which is that in these subordinate non-political offices appointments shall go by merit and not by political favor. If this provision had been fully enforced, complaints of the partisan character of the census could not be justly made; but, unfortunately, the supervisors were themselves appointed upon political considerations and the result was that the appointment of enumerators was a matter of political patronage. Republican Members of Congress nominated great numbers. The great mass of officials, clerks, supervisors and enumerators came from the Republican party.

The Census Bureau was openly used as a political machine. The following circular letter speaks for itself:

OFFICE OF SUPERVISOR OF CENSUS FOR THE ELEVENTH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

October 28, 1890.

To —— —— *Census Enumerator*,
Post-office ——, County of ——.

MY DEAR SIR—As it is of the utmost importance that a Republican member of Congress be elected in this district, I shall feel personally obliged if, on the day of the election, you will work especially for Benjamin H. Williams, the Republican candidate.

Very truly yours,
SILAS J. DOUGLASS.

Enumerators were used to get lists of voters for Republican committee men. Mr. Merrill Moores, a member of the Republican Central Committee at Indianapolis, wrote: "I asked one or two of them in *very bad districts to give me a list of the voters for their districts.*"

The following is a copy of a letter from Congressman Raines to one of the enumerators appointed in his district:

MY DEAR SIR—As it is quite likely that you will in a few days be appointed enumerator for your district, I write you this in the strictest confidence. I would like very much that you should take the trouble, before you make your report to the Supervisor of the Census, and after you have taken all the names in your district, to copy in a small book *the name and post-office address of every voter on the list.* After you have done so, I wish you to send the book to me at Canandaigua. I ask you to do this as a personal favor, and to make no mention of the matter to any one. What I want is *a full list of all the voters* in your enumeration district. Will you please treat this matter as strictly confidental?

Very truly yours,
J. RAINES.

The Act of March 1, 1889, requires that each enumerator shall subscribe an oath *that he will not disclose any information contained in the schedules, lists or statements, to any person or persons except to his superior officers;* and section 13 provides that if he shall, without the authority of the Superintendent of the Census, communicate to any person or persons not authorized to receive the same any information gained by him in the performance of his duty, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not exceeding $500. If enumerators were allowed to remain ignorant of this law, the Superintendent of the Census deserves the greatest censure; if they were permitted to violate it willfully, he is an accessory to a crime.

Undoubtedly the worst effects of the patronage system of appointments were seen in the City of New York. One C. H. Murray, a Republican politician, was made Supervisor of the Census of that city. The following circular letter from him, which has been many times published without question of authenticity, shows the manner in which enumerators were selected:

"DEAR SIR—You will please forward to this office a list of the applicants that the Republican organization of your district desires to have named as census enumerators. The list must be sent here on or before April 1."

Of this method of appointment, President Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who was Superintendent of the Ninth and Tenth Censuses, says: "If the selection of the enumerators was made upon any such basis as is implied by that, the census could not have been otherwise than bad." Such a method is a direct violation of Section 5 of the Act providing for the present census, which prescribes that enumerators "*shall be selected solely with reference to fitness, and without reference to their political party affiliations.*" Such a method is also a violation of the Supervisor's oath of office.

It is evident enough that among men thus appointed there must have been many who were utterly unfit for the work. And it is not surprising that among these men Police Inspector Byrnes should recognize well-known criminals. Mr. Byrnes states: "I know that some of the enumerators in this city were thieves. This very morning one of these enumerators came here to call upon me. He had been three times an inmate of the State Prison. He was appointed upon the recommendation of a Republican judge. The thief's name is known to all the city detectives, and his picture occupies a prominent place in the Rogue's Gallery. He did not take the oath in his own name, and his dealings with the Census Bureau were under an alias." The danger of employing such men as census enumerators is very evident. Private houses were opened to them with the understanding that the Government was satisfied with their trustworthiness.

The inaccuracy of the census taken in the City of New York first became apparent from an examination of the Vital Statistics prepared by the Health Department of that city. Very few persons who have been residents of the metropolis during the last ten years can question the improved sanitary condition of the city. The direct supervision of the plumbing, drainage and ventilation of new houses under the laws of 1879 and 1881, affecting about six thousand tenement-houses and many other dwellings constructed since that time, the almost total demolition of vaults and cesspools throughout the city,

and the more rigid control of contagious diseases, led to the belief that the death-rate had considerably decreased.

But by the Federal census the general death-rate has advanced from 27.44 per cent. to 27.54 per cent., so that we have the startling coincidence of an improved sanitary condition and an increased death-rate. If the Federal census were true, there was also a considerable increase of the percentage of registered voters and of names in the City Directory in proportion to the population.

These things led to the belief that the count was inaccurate; and the police authorities, by order of the Mayor, had the population of the city re-counted. The result showed a population of nearly 200,000 greater than that shown by the Federal enumeration, and the Mayor accordingly asked the Census Bureau for a re-count. This was not granted. The request was then made to the Secretary of the Interior; and the books containing the names as taken by the police authorities were sent to Washington, where Mr. Kenny, their custodian, offered to the Secretary of the Interior to take them for his inspection to any place the Secretary might designate, and to keep them there for comparison with the Federal schedules as long as might be necessary, the books still remaining in Mr. Kenny's custody. The Secretary refused to receive them unless they were absolutely surrendered to the exclusive custody of the Federal authorities, which Mr. Kenny was not authorized to do. The New York authorities, considering it impracticable to procure copies of the entire Federal enumeration, which would involve vast expense, determined to take one of the wards of the city and make the necessary comparison, and a copy of the Federal enumeration in the Second Ward was demanded, this being one of the smallest wards in the city, and one in which the comparisen could be most easily made. A copy of the Federal list for the Second Ward was furnished. It contained 826 names, and 8 of these were found upon inquiry to belong to the First Ward. The police enumeration for the Second Ward contained 1,340 names, a difference of 414, or more than 41 per cent. above the Federal enumeration.

The New York authorities now procured from the persons whose names appeared in the police enumeration, but who had been omitted from the census, affidavits showing their residence in that ward on the 1st of June last. Affidavits were furnished showing the residence of some 328 of these persons. A comparison of the two lists shows that a very large number of the residents of this ward were omitted in the federal enumeration. For instance, in the two squares bounded by Broadway, John, Nassau and Liberty streets, there were no less than twelve houses wholly omitted from the census, in which it appears, both from the police reports and by the affidavits, that there were thirty-eight persons residing on the 1st of June.

John Kiernan, the enumerator of this district, who secured his appointment through the "regular channel," as an enrolled Republican of the Third Assembly District, had lost some of his schedules; they had been lying somewhere around the house, but he could not find them. In this he was corroborated by the other members of the family, who said they had looked everywhere around the house, but that these schedules could not be found.

Nothing more seems necessary to show the untrustworthiness of a census taken by a man appointed through the "regular channels" of political machinery.

As the enumerators in New York City were appointed through the machinery of the Republican party, and as the city had a large Democratic majority and the result appeared to be an underestimate of the population, it seems clear that the error was intentionally made for the purpose of reducing the representation of New York in Congress.

Indeed, there is strong reason to doubt the completeness of the enumeration made, not only in New York City, but throughout the entire country. Numerous corrections and additions have been made; and, in cases where a recount was ordered, the enumeration was sometimes found to be greatly defective. Thus Multnomah County, Oregon, had a recount, the result of which showed a population of 75,657, whereas the first enumeration gave only 61,000. In several other cases, the enumeration was found to be incomplete when compared with the results of subsequent recounts by the local authorities. For instance, in the City of St. Louis over 12,000 names, and in Augusta, Ga., 4,150 (or over 12½ per cent. of the whole), appeared to have been omitted. Of course there is always a question which of the two enumerations is the more trustworthy, where two have thus been made; but since the total result falls far short of what is to be expected from the statistics of emigration, vital statistics, and other evidences of growth, it is not unfair to presume that in many places where the first returns are still uncorrected they are probably inaccurate and unreliable.

The bulletin of October 30, 1890, announces that the population of the United States was 62,480,540. In this bulletin the Superintendent of the Census considered it necessary to explain this result:

> Upon their face these figures show that the population has increased between 1880 and 1890 only 737,345 more than between 1870 and 1880, while the rate of increase has apparently diminished from 30.08 to 24.57 per cent. If these figures were derived from correct data, they would indeed be disappointing. Such a reduction in the rate of increase, in the face of the enormous immigration during the past ten years, would argue a great diminution in the fecundity of the population or a corresponding increase in its death-rate.
>
> These figures are, however, easily explained. It is well known, the fact having been demonstrated by extensive and thorough investigation, that the Census of 1870 was grossly deficient in the Southern States, so much so as not only to give an exaggerated rate of increase of population between 1870 and 1880 in these States, but to affect materially the rate of the increase of the country at large.
>
> There is of course no means of ascertaining accurately the extent of these omissions, but in all probability they amounted to not less than 1,500,000. There is but little question that the population of the United States in 1870 was at least 40,000,000 instead of 38,558,371, as stated. If this estimate of the extent of the omissions in 1870 be correct, the absolute increase between 1870 and 1880 was only about 10,000,000, and the rate of increase was not far from 25 per cent. These figures compare much more reasonably with similar deductions from the population in 1880 and 1890.

The superintendent therefore justifies his own figures by assuming that the omissions in the Census of 1870 were not less than 1,500,000. He evidently sees that, unless this can be established, the results of the present census will be discredited. But in this explanation Mr. Porter makes no mention of the great increase of immigration in the past decade,—some two and one-half millions greater than in either of the preceding ten-year periods. This would make a difference of some 3½ per cent.; and Francis A. Walker, who superintended the taking of the Ninth and Tenth Censuses, showed very clearly, in an address

delivered before the National Academy of Science at Boston on November 11, that a discrepancy of 1,500,000 in the Census of 1870 could not exist. That there were inaccuracies was not denied; but these losses occurred in districts where the colored people greatly outnumbered the whites, and where they had no regular abodes and often no family names. The percentage of growth in the whole country by decades and by periods of 20 and 30 years is as follows:

Census.	10-Year Period.
1800	34.7
1810	36.3
1820	33.1
1830	33.5
1840	32.6
1850	35.8
1860	35.6
1870	22.6
1880	30.8
1890	24.6

The percentage of increase in the colored population (where the Census of 1870 was defective) is as follows:

Census.	Total per cent.	10-year period.	20-year period.	30-year period.
1790	19.3	....	....	.....
1800	18.9	32.3	....	.....
1810	19.0	37.5	82.0	.....
1820	18.4	28.6	77.0	134.0
1830	18.2	31.4	69.0	133.0
1840	16.8	23.4	62.2	108.6
1850	15.7	26.6	56.3	105.4
1860	14.1	22.1	54.6	90.7
1870	12.7	9.9	34.1	69.8
1880	13.1	34.8	48.1	80.8

Taking the twenty years' periods, these show a constant decline in the percentage of increase of the colored people.

From 1860 to 1880 the fall is from 54.6 to 48.1 per cent. Now, if the Census of 1870 be omitted and the ratio in that year be fixed at the higher figure, the number of colored people would be 5,624,505. If the lower ratio, 48.1, be taken, the number would be 5,390,894. If the 30 years' period be adopted, the extremes to be followed were 90.7 for 1860 and 80.8 for 1880. If the former be taken, the number of colored people in the country in 1870 would have been 5,489,196. If the latter figure be taken, the number would be 5,206,992. The real figures could hardly have been higher than one of these estimates. The Census of 1870 returned the colored population at 4,880,009. The true colored population, if the census be omitted, must have been between the limits of 5,206,992 and 5,624,505. Taking either of these figures, the inaccuracy of the Census of 1870 would be less than one-half of the one and one-half million which Mr. Porter claims, and the figures derived from the present census remain still unexplained.

In the face of the inaccuracies conceded and the omissions proved, it is far more likely that the present census is incomplete than that there has been the

great diminution in the fecundity of the population or a corresponding increase in its death-rate which its figures necessarily imply.

The result of this political census has been thoroughly discredited everywhere.

In his Inaugural President Harrison declared: "*Heads of departments, bureaus, and other public offices having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the Civil Service law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty I hope to do something more to advance the reform of the Civil Service.*" How far, then, has President Harrison enforced the law?

The Civil Service Commission, whose duty it is to enforce it, is composed of three members, two of whom must belong to opposite political parties. When the present administration came into power, Charles Lyman, a Republican, was the sole acting commissioner. Mr. Harrison then appointed Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican, and Gov. Hugh S. Thompson, a Democrat, a man who had been selected for the place by Mr. Cleveland before he went out of office. These were excellent men who determined to enforce the law impartially, so far as they had the power. They could see that examinations were fairly conducted, and they did. But they could not remove any officer who violated the law, they could not personally conduct prosecutions, they could merely investigate, report and recommend. The rest lay with the President, the cabinet officers and their subordinates, and these have utterly failed in many important instances to sustain the Commission in their efforts.

The Baltimore Post-Office.

Take for example the Baltimore Post-office, a classified office, one of the kind referred to in the President's letter to Mr. Foulke, quoted above.

Section 11 of the law provides that no officer, clerk or employee in the executive service shall directly or indirectly solicit or receive, or be concerned in soliciting or receiving, any assessment, subscription or contribution for any political purpose whatever, from any other officer or employee. Section 12 provides that no person shall solicit political contributions in a Federal room or public building.

Section 14 provides:

"That no officer, clerk, or other person in the service of the United States shall, directly or indirectly, give or hand over to any other officer, clerk, or person in the service of the United States, or to any Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, or Territorial Delegate, any money or other valuable thing on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever."

Section 15 declares:

"That any person who shall be guilty of violating any provision of the four foregoing sections shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years, or by such fine and imprisonment both, in the discretion of the Court."

General Rule 1, adopted, and approved by the President, to carry out these provisions, is as follows:

"Any officer in the executive civil service who shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or controlling the result thereof; or who shall dismiss, or cause to be dismissed, or use influence of any kind to procure the dismissal of any

person from any place in the said service, because such person has refused to be coerced in his political action, or has refused to contribute money for political purposes, or has refused to render political service; and any officer, clerk, or other employee in the executive civil service, who shall willfully violate any of these rules, or any of the provisions of sections 11, 12, 13 and 14 of the act entitled 'An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States,' approved January 16, 1883, *shall be dismissed from office.*"

How were these provisions observed at the Baltimore Post-office?

Commissioner Roosevelt heard that this office was being used to influence a primary election on March 30, 1891, and he went to Baltimore personally to investigate the matter. His report contains the following:

"The primaries held on March 30, were marked by a very bitter contest between two factions of the Republican party. One of these factions was generally known in the newspapers, as well as among its own supporters and opponents, who took part in the primary election, as the 'Johnson crowd,' or 'Johnson-Airey faction,' Mr. Johnson being the postmaster and Mr. Airey the marshal in Baltimore. The other faction was known, similarly, as the 'Henderson faction,' or 'Henderson-Stone faction,' Messrs. Henderson and Stone having been, respectively, candidates for appointment to the positions of postmaster and marshal. The 'Johnson-Airey' people claimed to represent the Administration. This the 'Henderson-Stone' people stoutly denied, asserting that they were as loyal to the Administration as their opponents. It was evident, however, that many of the witnesses on both sides used the term 'administration' merely as synonymous with 'office-holders.' * * * There were side issues that complicated the struggle somewhat, but in its essence it was, without doubt, mainly a fight between the office-holders on one side and the disappointed office-seekers on the other; the 'Johnson-Airey' men representing the former, and the 'Henderson-Stone' the latter. * * *

"As a whole the contest was marked by great fraud and no little violence. Accusations of ballot-box stuffing were freely made, with much appearance of justification. A number of fights took place. In many wards there were several arrests. In one or two cases, so many men were arrested that the police patrol wagons could not accommodate them. In several cases the judges of the election were themselves among those arrested.

As to the post-office and marshal's office, Mr. Roosevelt reports:

"The evidence seems to be perfectly clear that both of these offices were used with the purpose of interfering with or controlling the result of the primary election and that there was a systematic, though sometimes indirect, effort made to assess the government employees, in both, for political purposes."

"The only two deputy marshals examined, Messrs. Biddleman and Sultzer, both confessed that they had collected money for political purposes from other office-holders, in defiance of the law, and that they took a very active part at the polls. It seems clear from the testimony of these two deputy marshals, and of Mr. McAllister, as well as incidentally from the testimony of some of the other witnesses, that the marshal's office was used, apparently by or with the consent of the marshal himself, to influence the election.

* * * * * * * *

"In the post office I examined a number of employees from the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Sixteenth Wards. Judging from the testimony of these witnesses, it appears that in each ward the Republican appointees in the post-office, whether in the classified or the unclassified service, either belonged to the ward club of the Johnson-Airey faction or shortly before the primary election effected some sort of organization of their own. A few days before the election these office-holders of each ward met together to talk over the plans for the primaries and to raise money therefor. Judging from the testimony, it appears that the bulk of the money to defray the expenses of the Johnson faction at the primary was raised among the office-holders themselves. Apparently most of the post-office people subscribed from $3 to $10 apiece. Sometimes the money was paid under cover of club dues, or nominally for the purchase of a pool table, or for a banquet. The Democrats in the post-office took no part in this; but it appears that a great majority of the men appointed since Mr. Johnson was made postmaster are connected with the Republican ward organizations, and these did take an active part.

* * * * * * * *

"In the Third Ward there are said to be some fourteen office-holders, most of whom took a more or less active part in preparing for or managing the primary. About half of them met before election in the Fairmount Republican Club. They there raised $5 apiece to pay the expenses of the Johnson-Airy faction at the primary, and paid the money to one Henry Martin, one of their own number, a letter carrier.

* * * * * * * *

"In the Eighth Ward substantially all of the Republican appointees in the post-office and marshal's office took part by raising money for the primaries and afterwards attempting to control them in the interest of the Johnson-Airey faction. The money for defraying the expenses of the Johnson-Airey faction at the primaries in this, the Eighth Ward, was raised almost solely from among the office-holders above mentioned, Mr. Tweddle collecting it from Birmingham, Richardson, Hamill, Holtz, and Perine, and paying it over to Sultzer, who received it and expended it.

* * * * * * * *

"In the Sixth Ward the office-holders in the post-office, and to a certain extent in the marshal's office and custom-house, were also fully organized in the Johnson-Airey interest. About eighteen of them met a few days prior to the primary in the house of C. G. Smith, a letter carrier, to perfect their arrangements, and raise funds to pay the political expenses of their faction. Through some oversight a Henderson man from the custom-house, one Kimball, was present, but paid nothing. The letter carrier, C. G. Smith, William Fensley, a custom-house employee, and Edward Biddleman, a deputy marshal, were appointed to receive the funds and to expend them and actually did so.

* * * * * * * *

"In my opinion, therefore, all the following governmental employees should be dismissed from office for violating sections 11 to 14 of the Civil Service Law: Edward Biddleman and William H. H. Sultzer, of the Marshal's office; John Fensley and W. H. Ray, of the customs service; John A. Bell, James Wilson, William H. Mitchell, James L. Webber, Robert F. Reed, Henry Martin, Henry Glass, Louis E. Gladfelter, John B. Tweddle, Charles G. Smith, Charles W. Hamill, George C. Holtz, T. Birmingham, Joshua N. Richardson, Edward Perine, Erwin Fouts, Oscar W. Gibson, H. L. Theiss, John Bond, Daniel Phelps, and Noah Pierson.

"In connection with the conduct of the post-office employees, J. Philip Sindall, William Root, W. E. Allerdice, James H. Biddle, and Joseph Solomon, J. Fosler, Samuel M. Armstrong, Charles Och, J. S. Shields, J. W. McCormick, J. W. Boulden, who, together with the gentlemen named above, took part in arranging for and manipulating the primaries, working openly as challengers, etc., at the polls, I desire to direct attention to section 480, of the Postal Regulations, still in force, which reads in part as follows:

"The influence of Federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings. * * * * The foregoing regulation has peculiar application to postmasters."

"Postmaster W. W. Johnson has been in office a little over a year. During that time about fifty per cent. of the classified force has been changed. In the non-classified and excepted places, and the places to which he appoints by virtue of his being custodian of the post-office building, some sixty in all, a nearly clean sweep has been made.

"It is evident, from the testimony, that the non-classified service in the Baltimore post-office, as is the case with the non-classified service in almost every patronage office, was treated as a bribery chest from which to reward influential ward workers who were useful or likely to be useful to the faction in power.

* * * * * * * *

"Mr. Johnson has filled the entire unclassified and half the classified service with Republican ward workers, and has permitted the post-office to be turned into a machine to influence primary elections. Doubtless, unless checked, it will be similarly used as a machine to influence the course of state and national elections."

These were the statements contained in the report of an upright Republican official. Copies of this report were sent on August 4, 1891, by direction of the Civil Service Commission, to the President, to Postmaster General Wanamaker, to Mr. Foster, Secretary of the Treasury, and to Mr. Miller, Attorney

General. Although the report was delivered in person by L. C. Westerfield, one of the clerks of the Commission, at the Department of Justice and at the Treasury (Report of Civil Service Committee to House of Representatives, 52d Congress, Report No. 1669, page 59), the Attorney General stated that he never knew anything of it until nine months after when the matter was investigated by Congress. The Solicitor General had never looked upon the testimony as calling for action! (Id., pp. 40, 41). Secretary Foster says, "upon inquiry at the Department I find that probably, about the time this report was printed, a copy was sent to the Department. It so happened that I never saw it and we cannot find it at the Department." (Id., p. 18.)

Postmaster General Wanamaker, however, saw the copy which was sent to him. One would suppose that such a report would call for energetic action, not only by the Department of Justice, whose duty it was to prosecute the offenders and dismiss the marshal and his guilty subordinates, but also by the Postmaster-General, to whose department most of the culprits belonged. But not a single one of these violators of the laws was removed or punished for his misconduct.

On April 19, 1892, the House of Representatives instructed its Select Committee on Civil Service Reform to inquire whether these men were still in office or whether any of them had been prosecuted.

Mr. Wanamaker admitted to the Committee (id., p. 2), that they were all still in the Government service, and that none had been indicted. He had another investigation made by some post-office inspectors of his own, months after the occurrences in question.

After much delay the Committee succeeded in getting this report from the Postmaster-General. The testimony submitted with it (extracts from which are given at great length in the report of the Civil Service Committee, pp. 66 to 74), shows that in spite of their efforts to screen themselves, the bulk of the men found guilty by Roosevelt had again confessed the same illegal acts. Of this report Roosevelt declares:

"Hitherto I have accepted the statement of the Postmaster-General that these men had afterwards in the investigation conducted by his Department, denied the truth of the statements they had made to me, and stated that they were not guilty. I have now read over and analyzed the testimony taken in this second investigation, and submitted by the Postmaster-General, and evidently the Postmaster-General cannot have read it before deciding on his action, because this testimony itself, taken by his own inspectors, establishes beyond shadow of doubt the guilt of at least two-thirds of the men whose removal I recommended. In fact, the statements and admissions before the investigators of the Post-office Department are in many cases even more damaging than the original statements made to me.

"In the remaining cases, where the parties attempt to deny their guilt, what I said at my last appearance before this Committee holds true now. When the facts where fresh in their minds the witnesses testified against their own interest, and this testimony cannot be upset by their statements in their own interest made six months after the event. The recommendations in the report relied on by the Postmaster-General are not borne out even by the testimony on which it professes to be based. If the investigation in which this testimony was taken had been made with the deliberate intent of shielding the accused, covering up their wrongdoing, and tempting them to perjure themselves, so that the office could be cleared from the effects of their former truthful confessions, it would have been managed precisely as it actually was managed. I have known of several of these investigations by post-office inspectors before, but, as it happens, I have never known of any such investigation that was carried on as this one was, the accused being represented by counsel and given every opportunity to concoct with their comrades in guilt some false story that would hold water.

It is no wonder that the Committee of the House of Representatives, in commenting upon Mr. Wanamaker's testimony, declared:

"From a statement of the Postmaster-General, it appears that he did not dismiss the parties charged with the violation of the law on the following inconsistent and contradictory grounds:

(1) The testimony of the men given before the Civil Service Commission was not fairly reported, the examiners frequently answering their own questions and having the answers taken down as if given by the witnesses. The questions asked were leading, and the men were not allowed to explain nor to have the assistance of counsel.

(2) The men were not under oath, hence, acknowledgments of guilt were not reliable and presumably required corroboration.

(3) The men made no acknowledgments of guilt.

(4) The men denied under oath the acknowledgments they had made.

(5) The men did not violate the law. The contributions proved to have been made were to pay the expenses of a primary election and therefore not within the prohibition of the law, and in this he says he is confirmed by the opinion of the Assistant Attorney-General for the Post-office Department.

(6) And finally, that the men being innocent have been sufficiently punished by having charges made against them.

The conclusion of this committee was as follows:

"We therefore find that the report of the Civil Service Commission, recommending the removal of certain employees in the Post-office at Baltimore was well founded, that the Postmaster at Baltimore has not removed any of these parties, substantially by direction of the Postmaster-General; that the report of the inspectors upon which they were retained is unsupported by the evidence taken by themselves, and indicates either complete ignorance of the provisions of the Civil Service Law or a determination that in this particular case their violation should not be punished."

The key to this disgraceful business is found in the fact, that at the Minneapolis Convention, Postmaster Johnson led a club from Baltimore, and that he and his lawbreaking subordinates were among the most active and influential of the supporters of Harrison for renomination.

Other Unlawful Contributions.

In many other cases contributions were shamelessly demanded from office-holders in plain violation of law and no man has been punished for it.

Daniel Grosvenor, a brother of Congressman Grosvenor, held office in the Treasury Department, was a member of the Ohio Republican Association where he made a speech at an office-holders' meeting declaring that any man who would not pay money for the support of the party which gives him his bread and butter ought to be turned out, and proposed a plan for evading the Civil Service law which was to have every clerk notified to call at the City Post-office and get a letter which would be a demand for money from his club.

Samuel R. Strattan is President of the State Republican Associations, and has a clerkship at the Capitol. Strattan comes from Pennsylvania and made a full statement in regard to his own State:

"Have you lists prepared from your own State of the voters employed in the various departments, and are the State organizations similarly provided?

"Yes, we have a roster showing every man, woman and child from the State of Pennsylvania employed in the government service. To-night this roster will be overhauled, and the faithful will be checked with a blue mark. The doubtful men and pretenders, and the fellows who hide behind the civil service will be checked in red.

"The unfaithful will be known?

"Every man. He will be marked. I ought not to give this away, but there are a few of our people who have lost their legal residence in the States, who have been formed into a sort of vigilance committee to keep watch on the stragglers and report them after election.

"Are all the associations on the alert in this particular?

"So far as I know no guilty man will be allowed to escape, and the appointing power of the government will be obliged to take cognizance of this report after the election is over."

The blackmailing of government employees went on two years ago, and is going on to-day.

Pension Bureau.

Another illustration of the manner in which the Civil Service reform law has been enforced by the present Administration is furnished by the Pension Bureau. The general shortcomings of the office under Mr. Raum are elsewhere set forth. It will be sufficient, here, to refer to Raum's prostitution of a public office for political and partisan purposes. In the Fifty-first Congress, Hon. George W. Cooper, a member from Indiana, introduced a resolution to investigate the Pension Office, and conducted the investigation himself. He was renominated for Congress, his competitor being J. G. Dunbar, a Republican. The custom had long prevailed in the office to call up pension cases out of their regular order, upon what was called a congressional slip, signed by a member of Congress. The case, if found completed, was carried forward for adjudication. This rule gave the friends of Congressmen special advantages. Claimants were very active in pushing their cases in this manner. The proceeding involved great favoritism, and it has since been abolished; but this favoritism was extended to all members of Congress of both parties, as the representatives of the people within their respective districts. It was left for Mr. Raum to extend it to Republican nominees for Congress, whether elected or not. Mr. Raum took particular interest in the case of Mr. Cooper, whom he desired to defeat. He visited Cooper's district and made speeches against him. While he was in Indiana one Morgan, a pension attorney, sent out postal cards to claimants requesting them to meet Mr. Raum when he came to Bloomington (Report of Select Committee, page 28), and Raum sent to Andrew Davidson, Acting Commissioner of Pensions, while he was away on his campaigning tour the following letter:

Indianapolis, Ind., October 25, 1890.

My Dear Sir—Mr. Wiek will send you a number of slips from the Hon. Mr. Dunbar, candidate for Congress. I met many of the claimants; they seemed to be very worthy and needy men. Please have Mr. Scudder and others answer all these slips *by Tuesday evening next*, so as to advise the claimants of the status of their claims.

In great haste,

Very truly yours,

Green B. Raum.

Mr. Raum being examined upon this subject testified:

"Q. Did you know whether this private citizen (Dunbar) had ever authorized Wiek to act in his behalf? A. Well, I stopped at Indianapolis, and I was received there by a number of prominent Republicans. . . . As is common I called upon the State Central Committee, and had some conversation with them. . . . I met Mr. Wiek, I think, at Indianapolis; at all events I heard of it. It was suggested to me that Mr. Wiek was acting for the Committee."

So it appears that these special favors were given in Mr. Dunbar's district, through a man appointed by the Republican Central Committee. Again:

"Q. I want to ask one question: If in extending this courtesy you have suggested to candidates for Congress does not practically use the Pension Office as a means of securing votes? A. The Pension Office is unlike any other office of the Government.

"Q. But, practically, is not that the result of this thing? A. The Pension Office is the place where there are——

"Q. Will you let us know whether this is the practical effect of it or not? A. Let me hear your question, and I will see if I can answer it.

(The stenographer read the question.)

"A. Well, gentlemen, I may state from what I see and understand, that the instrumentalities that are put in operation there in the Pension Office by members of Congress, and other prominent men, must largely be for the purpose of promoting their political ends.

* * * * * * * *

"Q. I ask if you have ever extended the courtesy of the office, as you did in the case of Mr. Dunbar, to any other than a *Republican running for office*? A. I do not recollect as to that, but I will look over that; if I did so it was done by letter.

"Q. Well, as far as you recollect? A. I do not recollect any."

(Report, Select Committee, page 30.)

R. A. Durham, a clerk in the office, testified:

"The package that came along with the letter, or about the time that the letter did, that was addressed to Colonel Davidson, probably had two or three hundred slips inclosed. I don't think there were more than seventy-five of these slips answered in my division. . . . We could not do it in the time specified.

"Q. What date was that? A. The Tuesday before election in 1890.

"Q. If you could not get them out on that day you understood the information would not be of any value? A. That was my inference.

"Q. The rest went back into the files then? A. Some answered Tuesday, some Wednesday, and some not until Thursday.

"Q. Quite a number you did not answer? A. Somewhere in the neighborhood of one to two hundred; yes, sir.

"Q. Did you ever get any further instructions to go on and answer the balance of those calls? A. No, sir.

"Q. Did the Commissioner ever say anything about it, or communicate in relation to it with you? A. No, sir.

"Q. No one manifested any interest, after the election, in having those cases taken care of, that were called up on the call of Dunbar? A. No, sir."

(Testimony before Select Committee, pages 1002, 1004.)

The conclusion is palpable. Raum wanted to beat Cooper and gave Dunbar, his opponent, the privileges of the Pension Office. For the purpose of making friends of the old soldiers he allowed Dunbar to call up their claims. At that time it was the practice of the office, when claims were thus called up for status, if they were found complete they were carried forward for adjudication. This was all done just before election to get votes for Dunbar against Cooper. After election neither Raum nor anyone else in the office cared anything for the claims of these soldiers, and nothing further was done.

General Rule Number 1, adopted and approved by the President to carry out the Civil Service laws, provides:

"That any officer in the executive civil service who shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or controlling the result thereof, shall be dismissed from office."

Yet, in spite of this prostitution of his official place, confessed by the Commissioner himself, he still retains control of the Pension Bureau.

Thus has the President enforced the law and his own regulations made in pursuance of its provisions.

It has been urged in Republican papers that the purpose of the Democratic party was to attack the pension system, and that they proposed to begin by an attack upon the administration of Raum. It will not be possible to hide the infamies of the present Pension Bureau by such a cry as this. The real friends of the soldier are not those who suffer these scandals to go unrebuked, but those who criticise and seek to correct them. The way to secure an honest distribution of pensions among the soldiers is, first, to eliminate dishonesty in those who distribute them, and the removal of Raum will be the earliest and best means to accomplish this purpose. If Pension Commissioner Black had been proved guilty of the outrageous acts which Raum has committed, it is safe to say that he would not have been retained by President Cleveland another hour.

Promise to Repeal Conflicting Laws.

Another part of the promise in the Republican platform was this: "*All laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed.*" This platform was written by George William Curtis. The object of the existing reform legislation was to secure an appointment and tenure of office commensurate to the merit of the man appointed. So long as he did his duty honestly and efficiently the object of this reform legislation was that he should keep his place, and the act providing for a four years' term of office at which time every office-holder, good or bad, was to be dropped was the legislation referred to. "All laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed." The Republican party has been in power for four years, for two years it has had control of the Senate, the House of Representatives and the executive branch of the government, yet no bill has been passed to repeal any law at variance with the reform legislation referred to in the platform. There has been not the slightest pretence of even attempting to fulfill this explicit promise of the platform.

Spirit and Purpose of Reform Ignored.

Another declaration of the Republican platform is, "THE SPIRIT AND PURPOSE OF THE REFORM SHOULD BE OBSERVED IN ALL EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS."

This spirit and purpose was to make appointments depend upon proved merit, and not upon political considerations. The law provided for a non-partisan commission and for appointments upon competitive examination and probation. Superior officers should neither appoint, promote, nor degrade any employee in the classified service by reason of his political affiliations. The purpose of this was to take these offices out of politics, and put them upon a business basis. The spirit of this reform, as promised by the Republican party, was to be extended to all executive appointments. Mr. Harrison, in ac-

cepting the nomination, declared his concurrence in this promise and added "*Fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test. Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office.*" How far has this promise been observed?

The man who has the most extensive appointing power in the civil service is the First Assistant Postmaster General. Into his hands are committed all changes in fourth class postmasterships, not far from 50,000 in number. Whom does the President select to do this work? A man who will conform to Civil Service reform principles? who will make removals only when the interest of the public service suggests it? He appoints J. S. Clarkson, a politician of the same class as Quay, Platt and Dudley. Mr. Clarkson has declared in the most public manner, in his speeches (as at Boston), as well as in published articles, his contempt for Civil Service reform. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles, nor could the President hope for the redemption of his promises by such an agent. Under Clarkson's administration political executions went on at a more rapid rate than ever before, and the entire service, including all desirable fourth class postmasterships, has been substantially changed for political reasons.

Gen. Mahlon D. Manson, a veteran of two wars, as honest a man as ever lived, had been appointed by Cleveland Collector at Terre Haute. Here is the letter to Manson, written by the President:

"Mr. Ransdell informed me that you had said to him that you would address me a letter relieving me of a possible embarrassment connected with a change in the collector's office held by you, and I have been expecting to hear from you. *I do not wish to make any official request or suggestion to you, but a change cannot much longer be deferred, and my desire has been that it might be made in a way as agreeable to you as possible.* This is the object of this personal note. Please inform me of your purpose."

Manson resigned.

Shortly after Mr. Harrison's inauguration he appointed Joel B. Erhart, a Republican politician, Collector of the Port of New York. Erhart turned out to be an efficient man and enforced the Civil Service regulations so faithfully that the politicians were dissatisfied. But after a while he resigned and he thus tells the reason of his resignation:

"I have resigned because the Collector has been reduced to a position where he is no longer an independent officer, with authority commensurate with his responsibility. I have given bonds for $200,000. I have received for the Government during the twenty months last past $322,697,135.40, and I am all the time personally responsible for enormous values in money and merchandise. My duties are necessarily performed through about 1,500 employees. I am not willing to be responsible for their conduct unless I can have proper authority over them. The recent policy of the Treasury Department has been to control the details of the customs administration at the port of New York from Washington, at the dictation of a private individual having no official responsibility. The Collector is practically deprived of power and control, while he is left subject to all responsibility. The office is no longer independent and I am. Therefore we have separated."

The private individual referred to was Mr. Thomas C. Platt, the Republican boss of the State of New York. In place of Erhart Mr. Harrison appointed Mr. Fassett, Platt's man, Collector. Fassett said when he was appointed that he had no knowledge of the duties of the place.

When Mr. Fassett was sworn in he was presented with a San Domingo cutlass, of barbaric origin and purpose emblematic of the spoils system, and with the following legend:

This cutlass is an instrument of torture to be used in beheading Democrats. Use it quickly and success is assured for the Republican party.

Republican directions: Use daily, morning, noon and night, until every Democratic head is severed. Sure cure for Democratic headache.

Fassett had scarcely taken the oath of office when he left the city to take charge of the Platt division in a quarrel in Chemung County. He soon resigned the place to be candidate for Governor, for which office he was defeated by a large majority.

But not only has President Harrison removed efficient men; he has conspicuously appointed those who were most unfit.

If the United States had been searched to find the most notoriously improper man for the Chinese mission, Senator Blair would have been selected, after competitive examination, as distancing the others. He had been rejected as Senator by his own State after a career which had made him a butt for the whole country, when the President, for no other reason than that he was out of a job, appointed him as Minister to China, whose people he had assailed in a brutal way peculiarly his own. China had the good sense to reject him.

Mr. Denby, the appointee of Mr. Cleveland, had filled the post so well that all familiar with the facts sought his detention.

The appointment of Tanner, as Commissioner of Pensions was hardly a fulfillment of the promises that "fitness and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test." No sooner was he established in office than he began overruling decisions which he found and allowing any one a pension who would take the trouble to ask it.

Tanner proceeded to mark up the rate of pensions according to his own sweet will, say from ten to thirty dollars a month, and then pay the pensioner the additional twenty dollars during the whole period he had been on the rolls. Then Tanner's force devoted their energies to the re-rating of their own pensions. Pensions of four dollars a month were re-rated to thirty and the arrearage made up for all the years they had been on the roll. In one division, five examiners had their pensions re-rated with arrears of from $1,500 to $3,000 each. As Tanner was appointed in order to be liberal with the boys, how could the President object? The re-rating of Senator Manderson's pension was peculiar. He was wounded in 1864 and granted a half pension in 1865. A clerk in the pension office named Squires, who was soon afterwards discharged for gross misbehavior, took from the pigeon-holes the medical certificate upon which Manderson's pension was granted, and Squires, together with Tanner and one Carpenter, a medical referee, decided privately that Manderson ought to have been granted a full pension in the beginning, for total disability, $30 a month. This gave Manderson four thousand dollars, besides $15 a month additional during the rest of his life. Manderson had not applied for a re-rating and knew nothing about the proceeding until he received the check for the back pay. He was a lawyer and Senator and knew that he had not been totally disabled.

The performances of Tanner became more and more ridiculous as time went on. The pension agent at Detroit applied for an increase of $1,500 for his allowance for office expenses. Tanner gave him $8,000. The agent employed a new clerk and raised the salaries of the old ones. The vouchers reached the Auditor at Washington and he refused them. The old clerks failed to get the increased pay and the agent had to pay the new clerk out of his own pocket or assess the old ones to make up the deficiency. Of course, each paid his pro rata share. At last in a letter to the Commissioner, Secretary Noble says:

"It may be that this Government is strong and great, and has at its command a surplus that no nation has ever had; but if sums of money to the amounts above mentioned may be granted without further consideration of fact or law than seems to have been given in these cases it will depend solely upon a single officer's disposition whether the resources of the Government shall be sufficient for its maintenance or not. There are more than enough of these applications already in the field and increasing daily to exhaust the surplus, of which so much has been said in connection with this matter, and I am informed that the applications for re-ratings are greatly on the increase, and now reach the amount of from seven to eight thousand a week."

So Tanner had to go.

Major de la Hunt of the 26th Indiana was disabled by his wounds and was compelled to leave the army and return to his home, and, in the words of President Harrison, then Senator, "It was not long until a sorrowing widow and an only child followed the remains of as brave a soldier as ever went out of Indiana to his last resting place in the grave." His widow maintained herself and her boy; she became the efficient deputy to her father, who was postmaster at Cannelton, and was afterwards appointed postmaster by President Arthur. Cleveland had removed her and Harrison declared "If there was in this country one person who, by reason of her sex, who, by reason of her widowhood, who, by reason of the sacrifice which she had made in giving the arm on which she leaned to her country's service, was entitled to be kept in office, was entitled to have her reputation guarded zealously by the person who represented the Government, it was Isabel de la Hunt." When Harrison came in she applied for restoration. There was no question as to her efficiency, nor any doubt as to the local sentiment in her favor. The office was given to John Zimmerman, Chairman of the County Committee, whose claim to the place was his party services. Let Harrison's own words uttered in the Senate describe the act: "The story of Mrs. de la Hunt carries its own pathos and its own indignation."

By the 30th of May the President had appointed to office his brother (Carter Harrison), his father-in-law (Dr. John Scott), his son's father-in-law, the brother of his son-in law (Frank McKee), the husband of his niece and the husband of his wife's niece.

President Harrison's appointment of his relations is imitated by his subordinates. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs appoints his wife as his secretary; so, too, the Superintendent of Indian Schools. Blaine selects his son for an important subordinate position in his department, and Tanner appoints his daughter as private secretary, and Raum, Commissioner of Pensions, appoints Green B. Raum, Jr., with most disastrous results.

Smiley N. Chambers was appointed by the President United States District Attorney for Indiana, to prosecute offenders against the law. His fitness for this office is shown by his declaration in regard to the famous Dudley letter, "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man, with necessary funds, in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and all vote our ticket." Of this the public prosecutor, appointed by Mr. Harrison, said in an interview in the Indianapolis *Journal* of December 13: "The letters construed in the light of the knowledge that we all possess of how elections in Indiana are conducted, by both parties, have nothing in them of a criminal character; but, on the other hand, when so construed, are honorable, and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections."

Eliot Sanford was appointed by Cleveland Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah. On May 10, 1889, his resignation was demanded. He asked whether he had been accused of misconduct; if charges were preferred against him, it would be improper for him to resign until they were proved or disproved, and the Attorney General answers: "There are on file in this department some papers complaining of the manner in which your judicial duties are discharged. Independently of these particular complaints, however, the President has become satisfied that your administration of the office is not in harmony with the policy he deemed proper to be pursued with reference to Utah affairs, and for this reason he desired to make a change, and out of courtesy gave you an opportunity to resign." Here were charges against a judicial officer, which he could neither see nor refute. He was to be removed, however, for not carrying out the policy of the Administration. But a judge has no right to carry out any policy. He must interpret and administer the law as he finds it. If a Judge of a Supreme Court could be removed because his policy in interpreting the Constitution differed from that of the President, then the two functions of the Judiciary and Executive departments become merged in one. The independence of the judiciary is one of the most important supports of free government. A President who removes a Judge for not doing his political work for him is essentially a tyrant and an autocrat. Judge Sanford's rejoinder was conclusive. It was as follows:

"In reply I have to say that my earnest purpose while on the bench as Chief Justice of this Territory has been to administer justice and the laws honestly and impartially to all men under the obligations of my oath of office. If the President of the United States has any policy which he desires a Judge of the Supreme Court to carry out in reference to Utah affairs, other than the one which I have pursued, you may say to him that he has done very well to remove me."

Ernst Nathan, a local Republican boss, was appointed Internal Revenue Collector in Brooklyn. William C. Wallace was the Republican candidate for Congress, and William J. Coombs the Democratic candidate. Nathan determined to see that Wallace was elected, and printed the following circular letter:

BROOKLYN, Oct. 25, 1890.

DEAR SIR—The Hon. William C. Wallace having been renominated for member of Congress for the Third District, comprising the Seventh, Thirteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-third Wards, and being very much interested in his re-election, I would deem it a personal favor if you will interest yourself among your friends by advocating his election.

Respectfully yours, ERNST NATHAN.

And in order to enforce the recommendations of this letter among the liquor dealers and cigar manufacturers, he had his official stamp placed upon it as follows: "Ernst Nathan, Collector of Internal Revenue, October 27, 1890, First District, Brooklyn, New York." Then he sent these to the liquor dealers and cigar makers, whom he could continually harass and embarrass by his official action.

Another of President Harrison's appointees was Flanigan of Texas, a man who passed into happy immortality by his declaration, at a National Republican convention, "What are we here for if not for the offices?"

But, unfortunately, there is still a darker page of this history of official prostitution. David Martin was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue in Pennsylvania. Who is David Martin? He is a man who has had the common reputation of being a director and leader of a gang of violators of the election laws in one of the wards of Philadelphia.

It is said that Mr. McManes, a reputable citizen of the Quaker metropolis, had an interview with the President personally in regard to Mr. Martin while the appointment was under consideration, and declared that he was a man of evil reputation, and that the appointment was one not fit to be made. Senator Quay was present at the interview, and the only reply which he had to make to the charges of Mr. McManes was that the Senators from Pennsylvania desired the appointment. This reply was sufficient. "Dave Martin" received the appointment. He was one of Quay's henchmen, but he is now busily at work in behalf of Harrison and the Republican party.

Among the men appointed postmasters in New York State, was one who had been charged with burglary.

Of course it is not possible in every instance to avoid the appointment of men who afterwards turn out to be disreputable; but where, as in the following instances, the appointments are of men who are already known by common repute to be men of bad and even infamous character, the appointments bring infinite discredit upon the Administration by which they are made. To that extent must President Harrison be held to strict accountability.

Otis H. Russell, appointed as postmaster at Richmond, Virginia, had been collector of customs under Arthur, and special agents of the Treasury had reported a shortage of over $800 in his accounts.

R. H. Paul was appointed Marshal of Arizona. Five years before he had been defeated for election as sheriff, but secured a recount which gave him a majority. The polls had been tampered with and Paul and his accomplices were indicted. Two of them confessed, but as Paul surrendered the sheriff's office the proceedings were nollied. A certified copy of the court proceedings was sent to the Department of Justice.

The President sent to the Senate the name of George P. Fisher as First Auditor of the Treasury. This was the man of whom the *New York Tribune* says: "While he was District Attorney in Washington his office was the chief bulwark of the district ring. There were hatched conspiracies to convict innocent citizens of felony, and plots to get rid of witnesses; the schemes to take burglars out of jail. Public opinion would not tolerate Fisher's appearance in the

Safe Conspiracy Trial, and after some miserable revelations of the misconduct of his office, the President was obliged to call for his resignation." General Grant afterwards nominated him as United States District Attorney for Delaware, but was compelled to withdraw the nomination. Yet, under Harrison, this man is nominated by the Senate and confirmed to this important office.

William R. Leeds was appointed in March, 1891, Marshal of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. He was one of Quay's tools in Philadelphia; the leader of the worst Republican ring that the city had over known. He was repudiated by his party in 1887, when he ran as candidate for Sheriff, running more than 25,000 votes behind his ticket. Even the *Philadelphia Press* declares: "It is an appointment which should never have been made and it will deeply disappoint the President's best friends in Pennsylvania."

Governor Warmouth's unsavory reputation is national. The New York *Tribune* said of him, December 28, 1874, "That his administration as Governor was corrupt and bad is unfortunately true." The best part of the Republican press in the North have long repudiated Warmouth. He was one of the black spots in the reconstruction period. He killed a man in New Orleans under circumstances indicating murder. He was charged by the Lieutenant-governor of the State with trying to bribe him with an offer of $50,000 and unlimited appointments, in the fight with Kellogg in 1872. He went into the governorship poor, and came out a rich man after a scandalously extravagant administration. All these facts, and many more, have been brought to the attention of President Harrison and the Senate.

Warmouth was appointed to the Collectorship of the Port of New Orleans. The position has a salary of $7,000 a year. The office is under Civil Service rules, and it is the sixth custom-house in size in the United States.

The Cabinet itself has not been secure from corrupt appointments. As Mr. Wanamaker got his place in consideration of the corruption fund which he raised, and it is not a violent presumption to infer that Stephen B. Elkins was appointed for like services to be rendered in the future. Elkins is immensely rich and has been a most successful money-getter. His political reputation is most unsavory. He was mixed up with land-grant scandals of past Republican administrations. He was an honored guest at the "Soap" banquet in 1880, and his appointment was regarded as a vindication of those who were connected with the Star route scandals which have become infamous in our political history. Clarkson said that in the campaign of four years ago "he carried with him the promises made by Mr. Harrison." He is a distinctive type of the school of spoils and boodle, and it is doubtful whether the appointment of any man who could be thought of for such an office could reflect greater discredit upon the President who appointed him than the selection of Mr. Elkins as Secretary of War.

SALE OF OFFICES.

In the Fourth Congressional District in Missouri, Mr. H. R. W. Hartwig was the defeated Republican candidate in 1888. The elected Democratic member died, and a special election was held, at which F. M. Postage was the Republican nominee. Mr. Hartwig finding Mr. Postage in possession of the

spoils during his absence, on his return wrote President Harrison a letter, saying:

"I passed through a long and exciting canvass, myself bearing all the expenses, amounting to a sum exceeding $20,000, used for local, State and national purposes. . . . Taking into account the work done and the great sacrifices for the party made by me and my friends, it would be rankest injustice to ignore my claims for recognition, an act without precedent and calculated to destroy confidence in our party integrity, discourage party workers, and disintegrate party organization and effectiveness.

Respectfully,

H. R. W. HARTWIG,
Late Republican Candidate, Fourth District, Missouri."

"In 'recognition' of his 'sacrifices,' Mr. Hartwig was given his share.

Mr. A. C. Eubanks, of the Second Missouri District, wrote to the President on February 8, 1889, saying.:

"I was the Republican candidate for Congress, and hence by custom am measurably entitled to have the patronage to somewhat reimburse me for labor and expense incurred in the campaign, which was considerable."

Writing a letter to Mr. W. T. Botts, who was seeking a post-office within this district, Mr. Eubanks said:

"In thinking about the matter we were talking about last night, I concluded that an office like your post-office ought to afford me $25—say $15 now, and $10 when you get your commission."

Mr. Joseph D. Upton, Republican candidate for Congress in the Sixth Missouri District, appears to have received $25 for the Warsaw office, and $6 from James H. Toolinger for a small $60 a year post-office at Palo Pinto, and various other sums in proportion for various other offices.

Mr. James Love, defeated candidate of the Third District, said of this system which he was putting into operation, "Of course, it will be understood that there will be some expense attached to the proceedings, and applicants will be expected to contribute to this expense."

WANAMAKER.

Perhaps the most disgraceful act committed by President Harrison was the appointment of Mr. Wanamaker as Postmaster-General. Mr. Wanamaker was a man who had been entirely unknown in the political history of the country. He had no experience, and as the event proved, no aptitude for political affairs. No imputation of statesmanship rested upon him. He was a successful Philadelphia shopkeeper. By judicious advertising, thrifty business methods, and an unusual share of good luck, he attained commercial prosperity. He was, also, a man of the kind of piety which is evidenced by long prayers and the successful conduct of a large Sunday school. His conscience was of that tender variety which had led him, on former occasions, to refuse pecuniary contributions for political purposes, on account of the base uses to which these contributions were so often applied. But Mr. Wanamaker became subject to the influence of Matthew Stanley Quay. Prospects of personal and political advantage were held out to him, and he became the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Republican National Committee in 1888. As such Chairman it was his duty to solicit and obtain contributions to the Repub-

lican campaign fund. This fund was distributed under the supervision of Mr. Quay, Chairman of the Committee, and of Mr. William W. Dudley, its Treasurer, vast sums being given for distribution in pursuance of the letter of Mr. Dudley advising the distribution of "the floating voters in blocks of five under control of trusty men with sufficient funds to see that none of them got away."

Mr. Wanamaker applied to leading capitalists and was eminently successful in his solicitations. Among others he addressed himself to the officials of the great railroads connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic, the Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific and others. Extraordinary inducements were held out to influential men in these corporations to contribute. Sometimes these inducements were not of a strictly moral nature. Mr. Wanamaker was asked by letter by a former Cabinet officer whether he would assist in a public inquiry regarding his efforts to collect $400,000 for the Republicans, but he did not do so.

He secured vast sums of money a very short time before the election of 1888. This money was placed where it would do the most good, and when the election had elevated Mr. Wanamaker's candidate to the Presidency, Mr. Wanamaker, by virtue of his services, became an applicant for a Cabinet position. Mr. Harrison generously responded and Mr. Wanamaker was appointed Postmaster-General.

Office Holders at Minneapolis.

But by far the most flagrant abuse of the Civil Service principle made by the present administration has been shown by the manner in which Mr. Harrison secured his renomination at Minneapolis. Unless the people can be protected against the interference of the Executive in an effort to secure his own renomination, popular government is a sham and a failure. An honorable President does not actively seek his own renomination. Should he seek it, he is bound to do so by means outside of his official control. To force himself upon his own party as its candidate, through the agency of his own appointees to office, is simply to Mexicanize our government. He might almost as well do it through the army.

Before the conventions met which selected the delegates to Minneapolis, Harrison office-holders were hurrying around the country employing every political method to secure delegates instructed for the President or favorable to his renomination. Every convention possible they attended in large force and took the most prominent part in packing these bodies in his favor.

These efforts were successful, through lack of any other available man for the place. Mr. Blaine had written to Mr. Clarkson, saying that his name would not be presented, and so many pledges and instructions were secured for Mr. Harrison that it was afterward impossible to change the result. To use the words of Mr. Lucius B. Swift, who was, in 1888, a strong supporter of Mr. Harrison, "The successful candidate was successful because through his henchmen he had the Convention literally by the throat. One hundred and forty place-holders, at the least estimate, had votes. On the best authority, at least three thousand other place-holders gathered around and bore down opposition. All these were led by a place-holder (John C. New),

who makes thirty or forty thousand dollars a year out of his place, and came specially from London for this purpose. The whole was superintended by the President, who had wires connecting the White House with the Convention, and who, as the *Indianapolis Journal* puts it, was busy sending and receiving communications from the seat of war. It is to be hoped that our United States Government has now reached its lowest point of degradation. It would not seem that political pirates or buccaneers could get, or would want, greater power." (*Civil Service Chronicle*, June, 1892.)

The following account of what happened in the White House is thus described in the *Indianapolis Journal*, the President's organ, of June 11:

"The President, meanwhile, was in his private office surrounded by the members of his Cabinet, who received every few minutes the successive telegrams from Minneapolis and made calculations from them. Secretary Tracy kept the tally-sheet, Secretary Elkins and Attorney General Miller did the heavy figuring, and the other Cabinet officers rendered whatever assistance they could. In the telegraph room across the hall Private Secretary Halford took down the first draft of the figures as they came over the wire, and sent duplicates in to the President. The room was full of subordinate officials, newspaper men and other interested parties. Postmaster General Wanamaker made excursions from one room to the other, and did some very accurate and business-like figuring from time to time."

It was currently reported and believed that many of the Southern delegates, even though instructed for Harrison, had to be bought and rebought several times. The bulk of them finally voted for the renomination of the President. What is the inevitable inference? It is impossible, of course, to know what passed over the wires directly from the President to his own office-holders and agents. What would the President have to say to a halting delegate?

Here is a message from Washington sent by Mr. Foster, the President's Secretary of the Treasury, to the Utah member of the Republican National Committee:

"Whatever you can do for us at Minneapolis will be duly appreciated, and gratefully remembered in Washington."

Another from Prince Russell Harrison to E. H. Studebaker, of South Bend, Indiana:

"Mr. George A. Halsey, of New Jersey, who is a delegate to Minneapolis, is said to be inclined to favor Mr. Blaine. Will you please use influence with him to get him to support father?"

Place-holders swarmed Minneapolis. Land Commissioner Carter, Assistant Postmaster General Rathbone, United States Marshal Ransdell, Fourth Auditor Lynch and Register Bruce led the Washington contingent. *Postmaster Johnson led a club from Baltimore.* The President's brother, United States Marshal Carter Harrison, had charge of the Tennessee delegation. Postmaster Thompson and his assistants, Wallace, Patterson and Woodward, and United States Marshal Dunlap, Pension Agent Ensley, Collector Hildebrand and United States District Attorney Chambers headed the Indianapolis place-holders, while those of New York were led by Postmaster Van Cott, Naval Officer Willis and Collector Hendricks. This was the way throughout the United States.

It was said that the President did not want office-holders at the Minneapolis Convention. In this event all he had to do was to issue an order forbidding

their attendance. None of them would then have gone. His failure to do this is the best possible proof that he desired their presence and active participation.

Indeed, the entire struggle at Minneapolis was nothing but a scramble for the booty and plunder of the party. Of the opposition of Platt, Quay, Clarkson, Wolcott, Miller, Fassett and others, the President declared, in his interview in the New York *World*, May 26: "I do not believe that individual disappointments will control the convention at Minneapolis." And Platt answered in a United States Press dispatch, May 31: "It is a much to be regretted fact that the President has placed his campaign in the hands of those who hold office under him, and has even called men from their posts abroad. It will be a serious matter if, by any chance, he should be renominated should this fact give rise to the argument that he was forced to give his campaign to those men, because he could get no others to assume the task."

It is this feeling which also gives rise to the sentiment, so often expressed among Republicans—"the office-holders nominated him, now let them elect him."

Attorney General Miller said of those men who opposed Harrison (*World* interview, May 29): "Some of the 'individual disappointments' to which General Harrison refers are felt by gentlemen for whom much has been done. There are men for whom you cannot do enough. Load them with favors, and, like the often quoted 'daughter of the horse-leech,' they are not satisfied."

And this indeed was true. Harrison has surrendered his principles and discredited his administration by giving unlimited patronage to Quay, Platt and Clarkson. Platt had absolute control of the New York Custom-house. Fassett was his man, appointed in utter disregard of the President's promises, in place of Collector Erhardt, whose resignation was compelled, because he would not divide his subordinate offices as spoil. Quay had control of the patronage of Pennsylvania, and such infamous appointments as that of Martin were made at his suggestion. Clarkson was appointed First Assistant Postmaster General for the purpose of decapitating Democrats in the forty thousand fourth-class postmasterships, and putting in Republicans who were valuable to the party. Yet this was not enough.

When Quay was repudiated by the Republicans of Pennsylvania, then, and not before, the President threw him overboard. Platt wanted a Cabinet office and failed to get it.

Mr. Clarkson, in an interview in the Philadelphia *Press* (New York *Times*, June 15), said, that "Harrison was only nominated by the aid of copious promises of office by John C. New and Depew, and that the men who already held office were given the assurance of four years further tenure. The mission to St. Petersburg was to be one of the rewards to Harrison's best worker."

Conclusion.

Mr. Harrison's performance of his promises may thus be summarized:

He promised that he would extend the reform system to all grades of the service to which it was applicable. He has not extended it to any, except to a few paltry offices in the Indian Bureau, in the Patent Office and in the Fish Commission. The number of places still subject to political influence is far

greater to day, from the natural growth of the service, than it was when he was inaugurated.

He promised to enforce the law, but this promise has been most shamelessly violated, not only in the case of the Baltimore post-office, but in other cases where political assessments have been levied in violation of law, and the violators have never been brought to punishment.

The Republican party promised that all laws at variance with the object of reform legislation should be repealed, and they have not even attempted to repeal a single law. It was promised that the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and Harrison declared that, "Fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test." And yet, through his entire administration, party service, often of the most venal and mercenary character, has been the ground of appointment. Fitness has been disregarded, public office has been used for purposes of plunder, and even Cabinet positions have been sold in consideration of the dollars and cents raised by campaign solicitors, and the President has secured his own renomination by a trained body of office-holders sent to Minneapolis for the purpose, and manipulated under telegraphic direction from the White House.

The Record of a Republican Office-holder—Green B. Raum.

One of the greatest offenses with which the present Republican administration is chargeable is the appointment and retention in office of Gen. Green B. Raum as Commissioner of Pensions. The appointment was an unfit one in the beginning; it has resulted in grave scandals in governmental matters, and great discredit to the President who has kept Raum in his place in spite of the often repeated demands of many of the most prominent Republican newspapers in the country that he be removed. Among these newspapers none was more active and, until recently, more persistent than the New York *Tribune*, the property of the Republican candidate for Vice-President, which during the first two years of Raum's official term published many columns of evidence against him. The demand for his removal on the ground that he had been proven guilty of gross misconduct in office and that all his surroundings were unsavory was constantly repeated in the editorial columns of dozens of Republican journals, until the renomination of Mr. Harrison, to whom these appeals had been addressed, forced the editor to desist from references to scandals for which Harrison, by protecting and keeping in office men like Raum, had made himself responsible.

Gen. Raum was no stranger to office in Washington when Mr. Harrison selected him to replace his first unfortunate choice in the Pension Office, the notorious Tanner. But Tanner's personal honesty was never called in question and it would be libellous to affirm that if he had remained in office such scandals would have occurred as are related in the two big volumes of testimony taken by the Special Committee of the House of Representatives at its recent session. Raum was appointed Commissioner of Internal Revenue by

President Grant on Aug. 2, 1876, and held that office until April 30, 1883. Of his nearly seven years' tenure of this important office six months was under President Grant, four years under Mr. R. B. Hayes, and two years and two months under Presidents Garfield and Arthur. It was one of the creditable features of Mr. Arthur's administration of the Presidency that he made the change which relegated Raum to private life.

When Raum was first appointed to this important office the prosecuting officers of the Government were engaged in bringing to justice the members of the thievish gang with headquarters in St. Louis, and a representative in the White House, in the person of General O. E. Babcock, the President's confidential secretary, who had defrauded the Government out of several millions of dollars of taxes on whiskey. Douglass, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who had held office for years under Grant, had been removed by Secretary Britton, who satisfied himself that he had been well aware the Government was being swindled. The successor of Douglass was ex-Senator Pratt of Indiana, a man of unquestioned integrity. In the summer of 1876 it became necessary to put another man in this place, and a very different sort of a man was selected.

The story of Babcock's operations as the representative and agent in the White House of the whiskey thieves is one of the most shameful chapters in the history of our national Administrations. By the admission and assertions of the St. Louis gang it is proved that he received over $100,000 of the money and of which the Treasury was defrauded. More melancholy still is the story —which every patriotic man would gladly forget—of General Grant's efforts to prevent the punishment of Babcock and other guilty ones, and of his relentless animosity toward Secretary Bristow and everybody else who aided in exposing and punishing the thieves. By means of gross partiality and unjudicial conduct on the part of a federal judge, Babcock was saved from the penitentiary; some of the less guilty ones were sentenced for short terms, with the promise (privately made) that they should be speedily pardoned. With the departure of Bristow from the Cabinet the crusade against the thieves was stopped, and it was never resumed.

Grant treated every man who had any part in the exposure of Babcock as a personal enemy. On the other hand, to defend Babcock or to express confidence in him, was the surest passport to Grant's regard during the last year of his Administration. When it was found that Pratt was to have a successor in the office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue, certain powerful distilling interests in Illinois were instrumental in bringing forward Raum, who was a citizen of that State, as a candidate. Raum was well aware of the situation and knew how to ingratiate himself with General Grant. He wrote a letter, containing sympathetic reference to Babcock and expressing confidence in his integrity. The charm worked perfectly and he was made Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Mr. Hayes was installed in the White House on the following March. One of the first questions tha came up for his consideration was what to do with the uncompleted investigation of the whiskey frauds and the continuance of prosecution against the men who were already subject to trial.

It was then that Raum found his opportunity to serve the men who had helped him to get his office and who were ready to aid him still further. When

such eminent Republican as ex-Senator J. B. Henderson, of St. Louis, went to the White House to urge Mr. Hayes to direct a continuance of the investigation and the prosecution in order that the thieves in Chicago and St. Louis might be brought to justice, he found that he was coldly received and that hidden influences controlled the action of the new President, rendering it idle for the opponents of the whiskey ring to continue the campaign against it. It is a matter of history, that the policy of the Internal Revenue Department while Raum was Commissioner was in complete harmony with the policy that was pursued during Grant's Administration prior to the time when Bristow, the honest Secretary from Kentucky, came in and smashed the St. Louis conspiracy. Thieves quite as guilty as any who had been tried in that city, remained unpunished and the stolen money of the whiskey ring was disbursed in Washington as plentifully as it had been in Babcock's time.

During Raum's occupancy of this office, although he was a poor man when he came to Washington, he invested over $50,000 in various enterprises, most of which were of an ill-advised character, or were subsequently badly managed and came to grief. He was extremely successful in avoiding Congressional investigation, and no legal evidence of corrupt conduct was ever given against him. On one occasion charges of bribery were made by a Committee of the House of Representatives, and Raum and a number of distillers were summoned to appear, but it was within a few days of the end of the session, and excuses were found for delaying the hearing until the possibility of it was prevented by the adjournment. When it became necessary for Raum to leave the Treasury Department, he at once engaged himself as the legal representative of some of the large distillers in Washington, and received liberal rewards in the shape of fees for the services which he rendered them.

Notwithstanding that large sums of money passed through his hands Raum's investments seem to have uniformly turned out badly. His "practice" as an attorney and claim agent at the capital dwindled, and we next hear of him as associated with ex-Public Printer Clapp in the membership of a "committee," the object of which was to bleed the thousands of clerks in Washington for the benefit of the Republican party. Congress had passed laws making it a penal offense for persons holding office to collect or receive money for political purposes from employees of the Government, but no law could reach the case of men like Raum and Clapp, who had gone out of office, and who cared not a particle for the odium incurred by their action, provided they could establish a claim for fresh benefits upon their party. The name of Raum became a stench in the nostrils of all respectable Government employees in Washington on account of his bold efforts to compel them to contribute money during political campaigns, and the by no means concealed threats that were made that all who failed or refused to contribute were to be "blacklisted."

Of course there was no hope for such a man as Raum during the Administration of Mr. Cleveland, but when his Republican successor was chosen, Raum at once laid his plans to get back into a remunerative office. He had got a high salaried place in 1876 by having the big distillers behind him and he knew that such influences are powerful with every Republican Administration. He knew that the rich pension agents who had contributed huge sums to Harrison's election, with the understanding that if he was successful the flood-gates of the

Treasury should be opened for them, would probably control the election of Gen. Black's successor. He therefore cultivated the pension agents, some of whom have been made millionaires by the money which the government has allowed them to extract from the old soldiers, and because their candidate for Commissioner of Pensions, Tanner's appointment, made ostensibly to recognize and conciliate the "old soldier," delayed his appointment for a few months, and then Raum got the office, and the pension agents were made happy.

Raum had been in the Pension Office but a few weeks before the public began to hear of scandalous incidents in his management of the vast business of which he had been placed in charge. One of his first acts was to place one of his sons in the office of appointment clerk, which gave him supervision of all promotions, as well as of appointments and removals. In a comparatively short time the Secretary of the Interior, without consultation with the Commissioner, ordered peremptorily the resignation of this young man, on evidence which reflected severely upon his character. Evidence had been submitted to the Secretary of the Interior by one of the Civil Service Commissioners tending to show that young Raum had sold an appointment in the Pension Office for money, and there was also proved against him a grave irregularity in accounting for a "conscience" payment of $72 from some unknown person in New Hampshire. This was only one of numerous cases in which Secretary Noble or his assistants were compelled to interfere to prevent or to punish serious wrong-doing in the administration of the Pension Office. One of Raum's earliest and strongest efforts after getting into office was to establish such a terrorism over the 2,000 and more clerks and employees in the Pension Bureau, that no one of them would dare to communicate to the newspapers any fact, however wanton might be his action, that would reflect discredit upon him, or let the people know what was going on in his Bureau. In some cases his action was so unjust and outrageous that he was compelled to restore to their places men whom he discharged for no other reason than that he suspected them of hostility to him. Clerks who refused to lend money on the demand of others who succeeded in winning the favor of Raum found themselves threatened with dismissal or disgrace. A Democratic member of Congress from Indiana, Mr. Cooper, who attempted to secure an investigation of Raum's conduct during the 51st Congress, became an object of a conspiracy to entangle him in disgraceful proceedings and destroy his reputation. In this conspiracy the Commissioner himself took the lead, and not only was the public money freely expended to carry out his wicked purpose, but prostituted his whole power as Commissioner to defeat Mr. Cooper, extending to his Republican opponent in Indiana in 1890 all the privileges of the office to effect that purpose, fortunately without success.

But more serious than even this was Raum's bold, and apparently successful, attempt to reap financial benefits from his office, outside of his legal compensation, by favoring certain pension agents in return for substantial favors received. It appears from the testimony given at the investigation by the Committee of the House of Representatives which was ordered in February last, on account of the many charges of misconduct in the Pension Office, that the leading pension agent in Washington, Mr. Geo. E. Lemon, secured a change in the business methods of the office (under what is known as the completed files

system), which gave him a great advantage over pension attorneys outside of Washington, and that immediately thereafter he indorsed Raum's note for $12,000, and had it discounted at the National Bank in Washington, of which he (Lemon) is the principal stockholder. When Lemon first requested the desired change Raum refused it. This was probably a blind. The further history of this remarkable transaction is given by the Committee in its report as follows:

"It will be seen from this testimony that Lemon's request had been refused after a consultation between Mr. Lincoln and the Commissioner, but that it was afterwards complied with in the issuance of Orders 149 and 151, and that on the next day after the issuance of this order (151) this indorsement took place. The security taken by Lemon for this indorsement was not regarded by him as of any consequence, and he so stated. He had never examined the property and had never made any inquiries concerning it. As a matter of fact, the security was of no particular value. The property was held under a contract on which but little had been paid, and it is now being foreclosed. The money received upon this indorsement was not put into the property given as security, but was devoted to other purposes.

"Under Order 149 three hundred clerks were put to work carrying forward cases from the pending files to the completed files, and about the 5th day of January, the date of issuing Order 151, 35,250 cases had been selected out and carried forward to the completed files. Had it not been for these orders the work of selecting cases for the completed files would not have taken place until May or June following. No record of the attorneys in the cases thus selected and carried forward was kept and there is no means of finding out whose cases they were or how many Mr. Lemon had.

"Hodgson testifies on that subject as follows:

Q. Did you have anything to do with the execution of that order?—A. I did, sir; the first cases under that order. The first cases came to my division under that order, were dumped on my desk, came in little carts, a little wagon, as near as I could estimate it about 4 feet long, 2½ feet wide, and 2 feet deep. There were three of those all dumped in the rear of my desk, and they must have contained in the neighborhood of 1,200 to 1,500 cases. (P. 896.)

Q. Did you notice what proportion of those cases, as long as you handled them, were Lemon's cases?—A. Up to a certain period he had a large majority. Take six weeks of that time and Lemon had five-sevenths of them. Although he is a personal friend —— (P. 897.)

"Hodgson is probably mistaken as to the size of the carts and the number of cases dumped behind his desk, but in his statement that five-sevenths of the cases he handled were Lemon's, he is in no way contradicted. There is no practical way of determining the amount of the fees paid to Lemon on such of his cases as might have been in the 35,000 cases carried forward. No record is kept of this in the Pension Office, and it could only be ascertained by consulting the different pension agencies throughout the country or by examining every case in the Pension Office. This, of course, could not have been done."

"Under Order 151, from February 3, 1890, to the 6th of August following, Mr. Lemon certified to the completed files 8,110 cases, which, at the lowest rate allowed by law, would make his fees $81,100. This did not include any of his cases in the 35,000 carried to the completed files by the office. It is admitted, however, on all hands, that Mr. Lemon had the largest business of all the attorneys practising before the Pension Bureau.

"Mr. Lemon submits a statement making comparisons between the number of cases allowed him by Commissioner Black in certain months of the year 1887 for the purpose of comparison and those allowed him by Commissioner Raum in the corresponding months of the year 1890. Why he takes 1887 for the purpose of comparison instead of 1889 the Committee is not informed, because Mr. Lemon was not before the Committee, and we only have the evidence which he gave on a former investigation. It is well known, however, that the business was decreasing in the office up to the passage of the law of June 27, 1890.

"Whatever of wrong there was in this indorsement is probably concealed by the failure to keep any record of the 35,230 cases carried to the completed files under Order 149. The Commissioner could have given the Committee full information as to the bona fides of this transaction if he had chosen to do so, but this he refused. It is a presumption of law if a person has information which he conceals that it would be against him if produced. This is a just pre-

sumption, and there is no unfairness in holding Commissioner Raum to the full force of that presumption.

"Aside from this presumption, however, we submit that the evidence shows that Mr. Lemon would not have indorsed this note had not Mr. Raum then been Commissioner of Pensions, before whose bureau Mr. Lemon was the largest practitioner. In fact, Lemon had refused to accommodate him in the preceding July, at a time when Mr. Raum was but a private citizen. Commissioner Raum's commercial standing at the time of this indorsement was not such as to justify such an indorsement on the part of a prudent man, unless moved by other considerations. Mr. Lemon placed no reliance whatever on his security, and as we have shown, the security was comparatively worthless.

"There was no evidence produced before this Committee to show that the note indorsed by Lemon had ever been paid by the Commissioner. We submit that this was not a bona fide transaction. We say that it is a fair inference that this indorsement was made in consideration of official action on the part of the Commissioner favorable to George E. Lemon.

The report of the majority of the Committee of the House of Representatives (Messrs. Wheeler, Little and Dungan) that served several months in examining Raum's management of the Pension Bureau, recommended the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the judgment of the House that Commissioner of Pensions Green B. Raum should be removed from office by the President for the following reasons:

1. Because he has demonstrated his unfitness to supervise and govern a large number of employees on account of his hasty temper, strong prejudices, and unreasonable animosity which impel his action in matters of the gravest consequence, as evidenced in the cases of Engle, Howard, Taylor, Jennings, Renaud, Hayward, Payne, De Arnaud, Peyton and others, and his pursuit of Hon. George W. Cooper, following upon an unsuccessful attempt to injure his reputation.

2. Because he has prostituted his office for the purposes of private gain.

3. Because he has prostituted his office for political purposes, using the same as a political machine, notably in the matter of furnishing the Congressional facilities of the Pension Office to one J. G. Dunbar, a private citizen of Indiana, at one time a candidate for Congress against Hon. George W. Cooper.

Other reforms recommended by the Committee were as follows:

First. That this Committee be continued until the close of the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, subject to the call of its chairman, but that its clerical help be dispensed with for the time being.

Second. That there be a revision or codification of the pension laws, with a view to reducing the same to a plain, specific, uniform system, for the purpose of doing away, as far as possible, with the employment of attorneys in pension cases, and to facilitate the adjudication of pension claims.

Third. We recommend that attorneys' fees under the law of June 27, 1890, be reduced to the sum of $5 in each case, without authority to stipulate for any greater sum.

Fourth. We recommend that cases under laws prior to June 27, 1890, be more rapidly carried forward to adjudication, and that there be at least equal consideration given to cases under those laws as to those under the law of June 27, 1890.

Fifth. We recommend that a sufficient clerical force be put on the old and long-pending cases for the purpose of determining their exact status, and whether they have been abandoned or otherwise, and that some rule be adopted whereby such claimants can be notified of the defects in their cases, to the end that the necessary evidence be furnished to complete the case within a reasonable time to be specified, and that in default thereof that such cases will be rejected.

Sixth. We recommend the restoration to office of such employés as were discharged for no other cause than the reading of newspapers that criticised the management of the Pension Office.

Seventh. The evidence in this case showing that all the controversy between the Commissioner and employés was confined to appointees not embraced within the civil-service law, we respectfully recommend that special examiners' division and such other places under the Bureau as may be practicable be placed under the operations of the civil-service law.

As to the character of Raum the Committee says:

"He has a peculiar mental make-up. He seeks indirect methods instead of direct ones. He is evasive and avoids direct issues and direct questions. His manner upon the stand; his mode of evading direct, explicit questions: his want of fairness and candor; and his peculiar disposition, as shown in the case of Charles Alfred de Arnaud, in the case of Taylor, in the case of Engel and Howard, and in the case of Renaud and others shows him to be unfit to have under his control the supervision of two thousand Government employees. His refusal to answer questions in regard to the Lemon indorsement, the contradictory statements in his evidence, the spirit of animosity which he showed against Mr. Cooper, member of Congress, the prostitution of his office to political purposes in a manner before unprecedented, all tend to one conclusion, and that is that he is not a fit person to be at the head of a Government Bureau which disburses annually $140,000,000 of the people's money and gives employment to two thousand people.

"This peculiar disposition of the Commissioner and a sense of his unfitness for a high position grows upon one day by day as you come in contact with him and his methods. The impression becomes fixed that his actions and methods have no foundation upon basic principles of integrity, but that he is governed largely by selfish motives, prejudice, and a spirit of revenge."

Yet in the face of all this and of the vociferous demands of many of the most reputable Republican newspapers of the United States that Raum be removed, Mr. Harrison not only shows no disposition to get rid of him, but gives us every reason to believe that his confidence in this unworthy official is such that he will be kept in office for another four years if Mr. Harrison shall be re-elected.

Public Office a Family Perquisite.

President Harrison has been one of the most persistent candidates for office the country has ever known, having been a candidate at almost every general election that has occurred within the past forty years, when he was not already holding office. He has not been satisfied with holding office himself, but has been active in securing offices for his own and his wife's relatives. He criticised General Grant for appointing relatives to office and accepting presents; but no sooner did he acquire political power than he adopted the methods of his predecessor, and let nothing escape that he could capture for himself or a relative. He even permitted his wife to accept a cottage at Cape May from persons upon whom he had bestowed favors, and who will doubtless continue to receive them during his official term.

One list makes the number of his beneficiaries 42—being probably every known person allied to the President by blood or marriage. The accuracy of this list has been denied, but there is at least a baker's dozen in this category, relatives of the President, supported by the country, not one of whom, but for this relationship, would have been brought forward, the whole constituting an example of nepotism not unworthy of the worst governments where office is a family possession. Beyond the list of 13 are other relatives, showing that this abuse did not stop with the President's relatives, but that these obtained appointments for others in their circle, so that every relative became a centre of influence, while the Presidential family extended indefinitely.

Contrast this with the record of other Presidents:

"Should it be my fate to administer the Government I will go into the chair under no pre-engagement of any kind or motive whatever. And when in it I will to the best of my judg-

ment discharge the duties of the office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good which ought never to suffer connections of blood or friendship to have the least sway in decisions of a public nature."—*George Washington.*

"I entered upon my administration unconfined by a single engagement, uninfluenced by any ties of blood or friendship."—*George Washington.*

"The public will never be made to believe that an appointment of a relative is made on the ground of merit alone, uninfluenced by family views, nor can they ever see with approbation offices, the disposal of which they entrust to their Presidents for public purposes, divided out as family property. * * * It is true that this places the relations of the President in a worse situation than if he were a stranger, but the public good which cannot be effected if its confidence be lost requires the sacrifice. Perhaps, too, it is compensated in sharing the public esteem."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

In his "Life of Lincoln" Herndon records that a delegation of gentlemen once called upon the President to urge the claims of one of his own warm personal friends to an important office, and Lincoln declined to make the appointment on the ground that he "did not regard it as just to the public to pay the debts of personal friendship with offices which belonged to the people."

"Only one President has appointed relatives, and that was John Adams, but he found public opinion, inspired by the example of Washington, so strong against it that after a slight experiment he replied to an applicant: 'You know it is impossible for me to appoint my own relations to anything without drawing forth a torrent of obloquy.'—(Letter to Benjamin Adams, April 2, 1799.) . . . In saying that his predecessor 'degraded himself infinitely by his conduct on this subject,' Jefferson shows the rigor of his requirement. Besides the transfer of his son, John Quincy Adams, from one diplomatic mission to another, John Adams is responsible for the appointment of his son-in-law, Colonel Smith, as Surveyor of the Port of New York, and his wife's nephew, William Cranch, as Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia—both persons of merit, and the former 'serving through the war with high applause of his superiors.' The public sentiment appears in the condemnation of these appointments. Thus far John Adams stands alone. If any other President has made appointments from his own family it has been on so petty a scale as not to be recognized in history.—CHARLES SUMNER, May 31, 1872."

Mr. Harrison obtained places in the Government service for the following relatives:

Carter Harrison, his brother, who was a Revenue Supervisor under the Garfield-Arthur adminstration, is now United States Marshal for Tennessee.

Russell Harrison, his son, was appointed Assayer at the Mint at Helena, Mont., as soon as he left college.

Clem Morris, who married his sister, was appointed to an important office in the Revenue service at Indianapolis so soon as Harrison became Senator, and remained until succeeded by a Democrat after Cleveland became President; appointed by Harrison to a life office in the Pay Department of the United States Army, he is now stationed at St. Paul, Minn.

Dr. I. W. Scott, father-in-law, appointed a clerk in the Pension Office in 1880, as soon as Mr. Harrison became Senator, remained in office until after he became President.

Henry Scott, brother-in-law, was in the Revenue service on the Pacific Coast and died in that service.

Mrs. Scott Lord, sister-in-law, for years a clerk in the office of the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, was specially favored by being permitted to do her work at home.

Major Scott, another brother-in-law, was made Paymaster in the Army, and is now superintendent of a public building that is erecting on the Pacific Coast.

Frank McKee, Baby McKee's uncle, was put into the Customs service in the West. He was scarcely of age and wholly unfitted for the place.

During the early days of the Administration he detailed Lieutenant Parker, who is the husband of Mrs. Harrison's niece, to a nice berth in the Samoan Commission that went to Berlin to settle the Samoan difficulty.

Cousin-in-law D. W. McClung was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue in Ohio.

Mrs. Russell Harrison's cousin, William Haynes, was appointed Law Clerk in the Post Office Department.

This list embraces every known relative of Harrison or his wife, except John Scott Harrison, of Kansas City, who is a Democrat, but the man President Harrison appointed Postmaster of Kansas City gave one of the best places in his office to a son of John Scott Harrison.

President Harrison began his Administration by appointing one Cabinet officer in pursuance of a deal made for him, or by him, at the Chicago Convention, one Cabinet officer in payment for his efforts in General Harrison's behalf at the Chicago Convention, one Cabinet officer in payment for his very large pecuniary contribution in aid of General Harrison's election; one Cabinet officer who has lost both his political hold and his legal residence, and appeared to represent nothing except reminiscences and Elkins, and two Cabinet officers for the sole reason that they were personal friends.

That he has been paying personal debts with public offices is shown by the fact that Indiana has got the offices of Secretary of State, Attorney Generalship, the United States Treasuryship, the Marshalship of the District of Columbia, the Third Auditorship, the mission to Italy, the Consulates-General in London and Constantinople, the Assistant Attorney Generalship for the Post-office Department and several other little things, not to speak of offices given to men from other States who have lived in Indiana and voted for Harrison, or who went to the Chicago Convention for Gresham and turned around to Harrison.

The President had occasion to appoint the postmaster in a town of some importance in Western Missouri, one applicant for which was indorsed by the Republican candidate for Congress in that district last fall, by one of the Republican Congressmen from that State and by a number of prominent Republican residents of the town. He was not appointed, the place being given to a man whose claim upon it was that eight years ago he was a member of the Indiana Legislature and voted for Harrison for United States Senator.

He appointed his old friend and campaign secretary, D. S. Alexander, to be District Attorney of Northern New York. Mr. Alexander's appointment was purely a personal matter with Mr. Harrison. Not a single Republican Senator or Representative recommended it, and the party leaders in Buffalo united in urging the appointment of Jerome Fisher. Mr. Alexander has lived in the State but three or four years and is not known in politics at all.

C. P. Hitch, appointed Marshal of Southern Illinois, was one of the two Illinois delegates to the National Convention who supported Harrison instead of Gresham.

In spite of the vigorous protests of ex-Senator John B. Henderson and the Republican Congressmen and other Republicans from Missouri, the President would have appointed a young man named Neal District Attorney for

Western Missouri when all the Missouri Republicans asked for the appointment of E. E. Kimball, had not Dick Kerens made the President understand that he had better reward Neal some other way. Neal had lived in the State but a short time, and as a lawyer was obscure. He had formerly lived in Indiana, and was intimate with an Indianapolis politician named Shields, who had secured the Missouri post-office already mentioned for an emigrant from Indiana, in spite of the objections of the Missouri Republicans. Neal was also a delegate to the Chicago Convention from Missouri. He went there as a Gresham man. But at Chicago he met Shields and he was promised the district attorneyship if he would vote for Harrison in the event of Harrison's election.

Kimball, a very popular man and the Republican candidate for Governor last fall, was finally appointed district attorney, and Kerens agreed to get a railroad attorneyship for Neal, and as farther compensation, Neal was allowed to name three postmasters and an Indian agent for whose places the Congressman had other candidates.

A. K. Sills, a Harrison delegate at Chicago from Indiana, was appointed a swamp land agent at a compensation of about $2,500.

George W. Jolly, who was appointed District Attorney for Kentucky, was a delegate to the last Republican National Convention, and voted first and last for General Harrison, although standing alone in the delegation.

The office of the Supervising Inspector of Steamboats has been moved from Louisville, Ky., to Evansville, Ind., in order to build up a Harrison machine where the Gresham influence has been very strong.

President Harrison's appointees have imitated his example by appointing or securing the appointment of their connections to Federal offices.

Assistant Land Commissioner Stone has a son in the General Land Office.

Ex-Commissioner Tanner had two daughters in the Pension service until lately and has one now.

First Auditor Fisher has a daughter in his office.

Private Secretary Halford's brother-in-law is postmaster in Champaign, Ill.

Comptroller Matthew's nephew is Assistant District Attorney for Southern Illinois.

Commissioner Morgan's wife is in the Indian Office.

Superintendent Dorchester's wife is in the Indian Office.

With these appointments may be grouped some others of slightly different character. Senator Spooner's brother has a consulate, Senator Sherman's nephew has been appointed Receiver of the Salt Lake City Land Office. It was thought in Greenville, Pa., that William Henry Harrison Dumars, a veteran soldier and Republican editor, would surely get the post-office, but it went to Mrs. Louisa Keck, a widow in comfortable circumstances who was not known to be a candidate. She is the cousin of Senator Quay's wife.

One of the first official acts of P. H. McCaull, Collector of Internal Revenue at Lynchburg, Va., was to appoint the son of Mahone, the Republican boss of Virginia, first assistant. The boss's two sons are both provided with places, the last-mentioned being Deputy United States Marshal.

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN METHODS

CORRUPTION FUNDS AND FORGERY THE MAINSTAY OF THE LAST STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY.

When Mr. Harrison declared of his election to the Presidency that "the Lord did it," he may have been sincere in his declaration; but if he was, he had willfully kept himself in ignorance of events that were known to every other intelligent man in the United States.

The Republican campaign of 1888 was not a Sunday-school affair, and, though one of its participants claims to have utilized for the benefit of the Republican party the experience gained by him in raising funds for Sunday-school purposes, the means employed to bring about Republican success were not such as to reflect credit upon either those who employed or those who profited by them. The rule of action recognized by the party and by its managers in that campaign was admirably, comprehensively and picturesquely expressed by Senator John James Ingalls, of Kansas, who was the Republican presiding officer of the United States Senate, when he said:

> The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicenes.

This was the Republican rule of faith and practice, and the history of the campaign shows how rigidly it was adhered to by the Republican managers. The object was success, and neither the decalogue, the golden rule, nor the activity of any man's moral nature was permitted to interfere with its achievement. Nor was any iridescent dream or tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, or the frivolous and desultory senti-

mentalism of epicenes, allowed to make the great commander in that campaign the derision and jest of history.

Indeed, the whole campaign, from its beginning to its end, was severely practical and intensely flagitious. The graven image of Mammon was raised up in the Republican camp, and was made supreme; bribery was deemed a virtuous thing, if successful; forgery was thoroughly approved and freely practiced, and the injunction, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" was relegated to the observance of those whose moral natures had not been sacrificed upon the altar of success.

The campaign did not derive its characteristics from the Republican National Committee alone, well organized as that body was to impart them, but the numerous auxiliaries which owed their existence to the private favors extended by the Republican party at public expense, contributed after their kind to make the campaign worthy of the party in the interest of which it was conducted.

President Cleveland had made it manifest that, should the Democratic party be continued in power, the Government would, sooner or later, cease to be an instrumentality, for the gratification of private greed, and alarmed at the prospect of losing their illegitimate advantages, the beneficiaries of Republican favoritism put their heads and their purses together to pervert the ballot and place their almoners back in power. All that was done to accomplish this purpose has never been told, for the reason that it has never been divulged by the guilty participants; but enough is known of the character of some of the Republican managers, and enough has transpired concerning their management, to establish, beyond cavil, the fact that the Republican campaign of 1888 was most infamously corrupt.

Fortunately, all the necessary evidence has been furnished by the Republicans themselves.

FRYING THE "FAT."

It is not questioned that a large amount of money is necessary to defray the legitimate expenses of any election which extends all over the United States. These expenses include almost countless items of various kinds, but buying of votes in any form is not one of them. A careful perusal of the Republican utterances which follow will, however, satisfy any candid mind of the corrupt purpose of those who collected and distributed the funds in behalf of the Republican party.

Mr. James P. Foster's notorious "fat" letter is the first document to be put in evidence. The Republican League, of which he was president, was one of the various auxiliaries of the Republican committee, and it drew its inspiration from the regular party organization. The letter, which was addressed to the protected manufacturers, was as follows:

[Confidential.]

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,
NEW YORK, May 25, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR—The Republican League of the United States desires to bring you face to face with the startling fact that the coming Presidential election is not to be fought on the old party lines which have heretofore divided Democrats and Republicans, but upon the direct issue of free trade *vs.* protection. We will win this fight if you will do your share and help us to finish what we have begun. We want money and want it at once.

It may not be of your personal knowledge, but it is a fact, nevertheless, that the manufacturers of the United States, who are most benefited by our tariff laws, have been the least willing to contribute to the success of the party which gave them protection and which is about to engage in a life-and-death struggle with free trade.

A Republican United States Senator, from a State which never had a Democratic Representative in either House of Congress or a Democratic State officer, in speaking of the well-known disposition of the manufacturing interests to lock up its money, fold its hands, and look on while somebody else fights for its success, says:

> The campaign which we are about to enter will concern, more than anybody else, the manufacturers of this country. They have hitherto been very laggard in their contributions to the Republican cause. In fact, if I could punish them, without punishing the cause of protection itself, I would consign them to the hottest place I could think of, on account of their craven parsimony. If this class of people do not care to contribute to the success of the Republican party, they are welcome to try their chances under a Democratic administration; I can stand it as long as they can.
>
> In fact, I have it from the best possible source that the manufacturers of Pennsylvania, who are more highly protected than anybody else, and who make large fortunes every year when times are prosperous, practically give nothing towards the maintenance of the ascendancy of the Republican party. Of course I shall not violate what I consider to be a proper principle of action, but if I had my way about it I would put the manufacturers of Pennsylvania under the fire and fry all the fat out of them. If the Mills tariff bill comes to the Senate there will be some votes cast there which will open the eyes of some of these people who have, while gathering th millions, treated the Republican party as their humble servant.

These are strong words, and bitter, but they are true, and it now remains with you and your associates to determine whether they are to be reiterated after this campaign is over, and protection has, through your apathy, been struck its death-blow. If you give us the means to win the victory we will do it. Are you willing?

Yours, very truly,

JAS. P. FOSTER, President.

No particular comment upon this seems necessary, except to say that it failed to produce all the "fat" that was wanted, and that, therefore, other measures and other men were employed to increase the fund.

M. S. Quay, at present a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania, was Chairman of the National Committee. He was thoroughly qualified by both experience and disposition for putting into active operation the peculiar methods that were deemed necessary in the emergency which confronted the Republican party. It was not at all likely that anybody in Pennsylvania would desire to turn considerable sums of money over to the chairman; so Mr. Quay called to his assistance Mr. John Wanamaker, a man who, until the discovery of his complicity with Quay, had borne a reputation which was found to be of great service in the undertaking of the conspirators. Mr. Quay, like Mr. Foster, wanted money, and he wanted it at once and in serviceable amounts. Mr. Wanamaker could raise the money among his friends. If Mr. Quay could only succeed in electing Mr. Harrison there would be cabinet offices to distribute, and Mr. Quay would have a voice in their distribution. Mr. Wanamaker was a man of integrity, but Mr. Quay tempted him, and he fell. Let

him tell the story of his fall. He tells it in a newspaper interview as follows:

When Quay sent for me I was surprised. I had no more idea of what he wanted with me than you might have if he telegraphed for you. *But I knew he was not the kind of man to send for me unless he had important business with me, so I went. Then he told me that the National Republican Committee needed money, and his scheme for my raising it.* I at first declined to have anything to do with it. I had very little hope of defeating Cleveland, * * * and I did not want to get on a sinking ship. He urged the matter, told me why he felt sure of carrying the election if he had the money. Even then I hesitated, and asked three weeks for consideration. He agreed, *and I talked with our leading manufacturers*, men whose names are the best in the land—such men as Washburne, Amos Lawrence's grandson, and a dozen others I could name—men who would never have given a dollar for dishonest uses, even if I had been willing to ask it, and *at the end of three weeks I told Quay I would undertake to raise the money if he would allow us to establish a manufacturers' bureau and have a voice in the disposition of the money.* I do not mean that we insisted on knowing what was done with every dollar of it. *I did not want to know. When I sell a suit of clothes I do not insist upon being told just where those clothes are going. My responsibility ceases when I furnish a good article at a fair price. What I did insist upon was that I should be able to satisfy the men who trusted me with their money that it was used for the purposes for which they subscribed it, and that guaranty Mr. Quay gave me.* That is how there came to be a manufacturers' bureau.

What was said by or to the manufacturers with whom Mr. Wanamaker talked is partly left to conjecture, though, as will appear hereafter, he tells the general scope of the conversations; and what Mr. Wanamaker's mental processes were during those three weeks of wrestling between conscience and ambition is a subject for the imagination.

Having gone into the business of corrupting elections, Mr. Wanamaker was anxious that nothing should be left undone. He reveals the *modus operandi*:

"I wanted an advisory board to the National Committee made up of business men, and a treasurer appointed for that board; then I wanted an executive committee taken out of that advisory board and limited in number, and with power to overlook not only the raising of that money, but its expenditure by the National Committee. The plans were acceded to." "How much money was raised?" "Nothing like so much money as has been proclaimed. We did not need four hundred thousand dollars and we did not raise it; no individual gave so much money as has been represented, myself included." "Did you raise two hundred thousand dollars?" "Yes, we raised more than that. *My contribution was ten thousand dollars. I had a large experience in raising money, from my connection with the Christian Association and other enterprises of that sort.* If you have a large purpose and can bring it to bear upon large-minded men, you may as well ask for ten thousand dollars as for five hundred dollars, for men are rather complimented when you ask them higher, and they sacrifice high for a worthy end. I said to such as I addressed: 'How much would you pay for insurance upon your business? If you were confronted with from one year to three years of general depression by a change in our revenue and protective methods affecting our manufactures and wages and good times, what would you pay to be insured for a better year?' That they understood to be the measure of their contribution. We raised the money so quickly that the Democrats never knew anything about it. They had their spies out, supposing that we were going to do something; but before they knew what it was we had them beaten. They were not beaten in November nor in October, but long before that. *When the election was over and won, the National Committee would have given me almost anything. It was understood* that Pennsylvania was to have a Cabinet place. The appointment was tendered to me of Postmaster-General, and therefore I am here."

All this betrays a singular distrust upon the part of the contributors of the distinguished gentleman who was at the head of the Republican committee, and this, with Mr. Wanamaker's remark about where his

responsibility ceases when he sells a suit of clothes, suggests the possibility of a diversion of these trust funds to the dishonest uses for which he says not a dollar would have been contributed.

GREASING THE FLOATERS.

Mr. Wanamaker says: "I do not mean that we insisted upon knowing what was done with every dollar of it. I did not want to know."

There is no probability that either he or any one else knows the ultimate application of every dollar of this immense fund, a fund which, by fair inferences from what he says, amounted to not much less than $400,000. But, fortunately, the general course of the fund is abundantly indicated by documentary evidence that is unimpeachable.

Colonel W. W. Dudley, of Indiana, President Harrison's friend until after the election, was treasurer of the Republican Committee, and had custody of the "fat." He knew what was done with the money, not only that which was collected by Mr. Wanamaker, but the hundreds of thousands of dollars besides, which were contributed by the many manufacturers to be expended for the ulterior purpose of making them pay high wages to their employees. And here is Colonel Dudley's contribution to the evidence:

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
91 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, October 24.

[Executive Committee: M. S. Quay, chairman; J. S. Clarkson, vice-chairman; J. S. Fassett, secretary; William W. Dudley, treasurer; John C. New, A. L. Conger, C. A. Hobart, Samuel Fessenden, George R. Davis, J. Manchester Haynes, M. H. De Young, William Cassius Goodloe.]

DEAR SIR—I hope you have kept copies of the lists sent me. Such information is very valuable and should be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends *that with proper assistance Indiana is surely Republican for governor and President, and has resulted, as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary.* Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston *the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton* 10,000 *plurality.*

New York is now safe beyond peradventure for the Republican Presidential ticket; Connecticut likewise. In short, every Northern State, except perhaps New Jersey, though we still hope to carry that State. Harrison's majority in the Electoral College will not be less than 100. Make our friends in each precinct wake up to the fact that only boodle and fraudulent votes and false counting of returns can beat us in the State. Write each of our precinct correspondents—First. To find out who has Democratic boodle, and steer the Democratic workers to them, and make them pay big prices for their own men. Second. Scan the election officers closely, and make sure to have no man on the board whose integrity is even questionable, and insist on Republicans watching every movement of the election officers. Third. See that our workers know every voter entitled to a vote, and let no one else even offer to vote. Fourth. *Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket.* Fifth. Make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, November 6, to work at the polls—that is, to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dumfounded the ordinary Democratic election bummer will be, and how quickly he will disappear. The result will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay.

There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the National, State, and County committees; only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results. I rely on you to advise your precinct correspondents and urge them to unremitting and constant efforts from now till the polls close and the result is announced officially. We will fight for a fair election here if necessary. The rebel crew cannot steal this election from us as they did in 1884 without some one getting hurt. Let every Republican do his whole duty and the country will pass into Repulican hands, never to leave it, I trust. Thanking you again for your efforts to assist me in my work, I remain,

Yours, sincerely,

WM. W. DUDLEY.

Please wire me result in principal precincts and county.

This letter, sent to the Republican "workers" in Indiana, is sufficiently explicit to satisfy the most exacting. It furnishes, also, a satisfactory reason for Mr. Wanamaker's not wishing to know what became of every dollar. Criminal courts sometimes make knowledge of this character very inconvenient to those in possession of it, and it was a wise precaution upon the part of Mr. Wanamaker to avoid a too particular inquiry into the disposition made of the great corruption fund. Colonel Dudley's testimony should suffice for the Indiana branch of the bribery bureau.

Colonel Elliott F. Shepard is one of President Harrison's friends, and he is also the editor of the New York *Mail and Express*, a Republican newspaper published in the City of New York. Colonel Shepard published this statement in his paper, November 22, 1888:

Of the money so liberally contributed by the Republicans in this city for election expenses, three very large sums were paid out which brought in only about 1,350 votes as the result of these expensive negotiations. The Coogan Labor vote cast for Harrison and Miller amounted to 1,200; the James O'Brien Protection Democracy vote, 50; the John J. O'Brien vote, beyond what is the normal vote in the Eighth District, to 100 votes. On Saturday before election, there was paid by the National Committee for use in this city to a Republican State leader, as we are informed, the great sum of about $150,000, and as none of this went to the County Committee, it is fair to presume this very large sum was used in the three negotiations referred to.

The expenses of manning the polling-boxes, to the extent of $55 for each election district, were defrayed by the funds raised by the Union League Club, making for the 856 districts the sum of $47,080. From the same club collection also was paid for music, uniforms, printing, and all that, about $23,000 more.

The County Committee received from the National Committee about $40,000, from the State Committee nothing, and from individuals about $50,000, making a total, with the preceding $70,000, for direct, necessary and legitimate use in this great metropolis, of only $160,000 for speakers, transparencies, rent, and clerks of headquarters, manning the polls, postage, circulars, *and all that.*

As to the Coogan movement, it promised 29,000 more votes for Harrison and Miller than it delivered, and collapsed, after polling about 9,000 votes for Coogan for Mayor, into the arms of Tammany Hall, which presented the only other Romanist for that office.

The James O'Brien movement promised 10,000 more votes than it delivered.

The John J. O'Brien movement kept its word pretty well for Harrison, miserably for Miller, and not at all for Erhardt.

The success of the Republican party in this city is to be achieved by educating the masses in Republican doctrines, by the circulation of the Republican newspapers, and the continual holding of mass-meetings; *and we hope we have seen the last of attempts to buy voters en bloc, in all which attempts for the past twenty-six years we have been buying experience and not votes, been filling and trimming the lamps of our opponents and emptying our own.*

This wail over the escaped floaters clearly points out where some of the dollars went, and arouses a very reasonable suspicion as to the application of the whole fund.

If these publications left anything to be desired by way of indicating the influence to which Mr. Harrison owed his election, the *Manufacturer*, of Philadelphia, the organ of the Manufacturers' Club, supplied the deficiency. In April, 1889, it said:

> It is, therefore, to the men that gave the cash that a large, if not the largest, share of success is due. These, almost always, are the business men. We make the assertion that the money contributed by this (Manufacturers') club last year had more influence upon the result of the National Election than all the skill, the ingenuity, the labor and the wire-pulling of all the professional politicians in the City of Philadelphia. *We believe this proposition to be capable of positive proof.* If, therefore, control of patronage is rightly the reward of victorious efforts, the right of this club to name the Federal office-holders of Philadelphia rests upon solid ground. * * * The leaders, we suppose, will claim that they are the men who win victories, and that their generalship entitles them to special considerations. But they can win no triumphs without strong backing in money and votes from the best members of their party. *If the politicians had had to fight single-handed the battles of last November, Mr. Cleveland would now be in the White House. They were literally smitten with paralysis until the manufacturers and other business men came to the rescue, not only with abundant supplies of money but with a determination to carry the day by hard work and actively exerted influence. That was how the fight was won.*

That ought to disabuse Mr. Harrison's mind, if he still thinks that "the Lord did it"; for "that was how the fight was won," and the President's distribution of cabinet offices proves beyond controversy that he recognizes the fact that he holds his office by reason of the "victorious efforts" made in his behalf by the contributors to the campaign fund.

Forgery in the Campaign.

But bribery was not the only crime through which the Republicans sought success. The campaigners were versatile in their criminality. It was not safe to trust to the venal alone; the credulous were a more reliable class, and so deceit was made to do its share of the dirty work.

If this deceit had been confined to that plain misrepresentation which distinguishes substantially all the political speeches and documents emanating from Republican authors and orators, or if it had not extended beyond that flagrant and intentional violation of truth which is so often the resort of some of those who advocate "robbery under the forms of law," it would have attracted no particular attention; for the people have become so accustomed to these things that they always expect them, and know how to treat them.

But it went beyond all this and included the publication of extracts from the British press. These extracts were printed on flaming documents, containing representations, in colors, of the American and British flags, and pictures of the nominees, Cleveland and Thurman being represented as the British, and Harrison and Morton as the American candidates.

Millions of the documents were distributed throughout the United States. The extracts were reprinted in nearly all Republican papers, in many of which they were kept standing throughout the campaign, and in some of which they still occasionally appear; they were read from every stump and were quoted in private conventions. Then the American people were asked to choose between the American and the British candidates. And all this came of infamous and diabolical Republican forgery.

Many of these expressions were credited to persons, publications and organizations that were created by the Republicans out of their own imaginations for the mere purpose of giving to the forgeries an appearance of being genuine, some were given no particular parentage, and others were alleged to be the utterances of well-known men and newspapers. The true character of these extracts was exposed over and over again, but the only perceptible effect of the exposure was the strengthening of the Republican determination to give to the forgeries greater currency.

President Cleveland's message and the Mills bill had set the country to thinking; the Irish vote was sturdily supporting the party of liberal principles, and Mr. Harrison's antecedents were not of a character to attract this vote to the party that had seldom failed to manifest its contempt for Irishmen. Therefore, prejudice must be relied upon to counteract these things, and forging was the most available means of arousing prejudice.

Omitting more particular reference to the many other forgeries, let one suffice to illustrate them all. It is one that is forked, like a serpent's tongue, and was calculated to appeal to both American patriotism and the hatred of British oppression. This forgery, which was credited to the *London Times*, reads as follows:

> The only time England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade.

The *St. James Gazette*, London, exposed this forgery, and it subsequently transpired that the extract's original claim to authenticity, though much stronger than that of the other forgeries, rested upon the statement made by a Republican member of Congress, in a speech made in the House, that "A few years ago I read in the *London Times* these words in speaking of the Irish people: 'The only time that England can use the Celt is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade.'" The statement made by the Congressman, like the extract published during the campaign, was shown by the *St. James Gazette* to be absolutely false.

Here, again, the evidence in support of the charge is furnished by the Republicans themselves, Mr. Hubert Radclyffe, then Secretary of the Home Market Club, Boston, being the witness. Mr. Radclyffe made to the club a full report of the circumstances attending his connection

with the forgery. He was dismissed from the service of the club, and then he made his report public. In it he said:

> I prepared the flag document for circulation by the club, making some changes, printing it upon both sides, the one with the English flag having the Democratic nominations, and the other, with the American flag, having the Republican nominations. The first delivery of the printer was upon August 31 at 4.30 P. M., and the documents were most effectively circulated at the Butler meeting the same evening.
>
> A few days after my attention was directed to a cablegram in the Boston *Post*, stating that the *St. James Gazette* denied the authenticity of the quotation from the London *Times*, which was being circulated in this country. The use of the quotation by the New York *Tribune*, and the general wide circulation of it through the press of the country, and the fact also that the cablegram referred to was not printed in all the Boston papers, caused me, I must say, at first to doubt whether the denial was worth paying the slightest attention to. But I immediately proceeded to the Public Library, found that the *St. James Gazette* was a daily paper published in London, and when the copy was received, showing the article in full, I stopped the circulation of the document.

He merely made some changes in a document that was being circulated by the Republican National Committee.

Notwithstanding the fact that this exposure was made, as appears, early in September, millions of the documents were subsequently distributed, and the use of the extracts in the press and on the stump went on as before. The active participation of the Home Market Club may have ceased as indicated in the Secretary's report, but there was no public intimation from the clerk that the forgery had been detected, and though the Democratic press almost daily called attention to the criminal use of the forged extract, Mr. Whitelaw Reid and his paper, the New York *Tribune*, continued to sanction it.

As stated, this forgery merely illustrates a common practice. It was shown during the campaign that others of the forgeries had even less of the semblance of truth to support them than this had, for they were credited to persons and publications that had never existed. But their circulation was continued, notwithstanding. That they had their effect cannot be doubted.

The Sequel.

After the election, Mr. Harrison invited Quay to Indianapolis. He turned over to the Pennsylvania Senator the whole patronage of that State and much besides, rewarding Quay's agent Wanamaker with a Cabinet portfolio, and in smaller things doing the bidding of the man to whose methods he owed his election. This state of things was continued until Quay's increasing arrogance and the public opinion aroused by flagrant abuses of the patronage compelled the President to refuse further compliance with that almoner's demands.

Col. Dudley was not publicly recognized. From his hands Mr. Harrison accepted the gift, tainted as it was, but he contemned the giver. And yet he was not wholly ungrateful, as will appear.

In Indiana, a warrant was sworn out for Col. Dudley's arrest upon the charge of committing bribery. Judge Wood, of the United States Dis-

trict Court, in charging the Grand Jury, said, referring to the statute under which the accusation was made:

> The latter clause of the section makes any one guilty who counsels bribery. * * * This clause makes it an offense for any one to advise another to attempt to commit any of the offenses named in this section; so that, while it is not a crime to make the attempt, it is a crime to advise another to make the attempt. If A attempts to bribe B, that is no offense under this statute; but if A advises B to bribe C, then the one who commends or gives this advice is an offender under this law. And I will say that there is some wisdom in this provision.

A true bill was found, but, the indictment being technically defective, it became necessary again to submit the case to the Grand Jury. In the meantime, Judge Wood received some instructions, which had a material effect upon the law applicable to the case; so, when he again charged the Grand Jury, he stated the law as follows:

> It results, of course, that the mere sending by one to another of a letter or document containing advice to bribe a voter, or setting forth a scheme for such bribery, however bold and reprehensible, is not indictable. There must be shown in addition an attempt by the receiver of the letter, or of some other instigated by him, to execute the scheme by bribing or attempting to bribe some voter in respect to the election of Congressmen, or in such way as to affect such elections.
>
> Another point deserves consideration in this connection. If the view be adopted that advice not acted upon may constitute a crime, then the exact words used in giving the advice, whether oral or written, must be ascertained, and every possible intendment in favor of innocence must be allowed and all doubts resolved in favor of the accused. If the use of money be advised, but the particular purpose of its use be not clearly and, indeed, conclusively indicated, a possible innocent use will be presumed; and even if the purpose to bribe be unquestionable, and yet it appears that the design was to purchase votes for other officers than Representatives in Congress, it would be no crime under the statute which is designed to protect the election for that office.

Colonel Dudley remained away from Indiana for more than a year after the election. When he returned the services of the Democratic Assistant District Attorney, who has shown considerable "pernicious activity" in Colonel Dudley's case, had been dispensed with, and his chief, the United States District Attorney appointed by President Harrison, declined to prosecute the accused.

But there is one fact still to be related, and it illuminates all that has been told. The 51st, or Billion Dollar, Congress created the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and provided for the appointment of nine judges to sit on its bench. President Harrison appointed this same Judge Wood to one of those places; and this one fact stands boldly out to confront him who charges President Harrison with ingratitude to Colonel Dudley.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

WHY THE REPEAL OF THE TEN PER CENT. TAX ON STATE BANK ISSUES IS DEMANDED.

"We recommend that the prohibitory ten per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed."—Democratic National Platform.

Since the appearance of this recommendation in the Democratic national platform, Republican writers and speakers have, with many rhetorical flourishes, announced themselves as the defenders of the national banking system and as the protectors of the country against "wildcat" institutions. Thus far they have not seriously grappled with the financial problems of which the American people are demanding a solution, but have contented themselves with "glittering generalities." They preach with fervor the perfection of a system which, so far as the function to which its popularity was largely due is concerned, has had its day.

Issue is not joined on the question of the excellence of the national banking system in some respects as compared to that of other systems that have existed, nor is it joined on the question of the great service it has rendered. The real issues are: Whether the system can be perpetuated; whether it is now necessary to provide a substitute, and what that substitute shall be. First, as to the perpetuity of the system. The national banking system owes its existence to the Civil War. The imperious necessity of finding a market for United States bonds, and for the supply of a treasury drained by war, was the favoring condition for such a reorganization of the old State bank currency under the national banking system, and the assumption of unusual powers by the United States Government, which was becoming habitual under the pressure of a struggle for existence, made the resort to federal authority practicable. In 1860 a majority of the people would have thought the establishment of a third bank dangerous and of doubtful constitutionality. In 1863 a system of national banks, infinitely more powerful than the bank which had waged an almost equal war with Jackson, was established with widespread, although not unanimous, consent, and without solid opposition, except from some existing institutions threatened or alarmed by the change. The act for establishing the system was passed on February 25, 1863. In many points of detail this act proved unsatisfactory and incomplete. Only 134 banks were organized under it in the next nine months and the number was less than 450 in 16 months. There-

fore in June, 1864, a revised act was passed. In this it was provided that banks chartered by the States could be reorganized as national banks. The extension of the system was rapid. It was stimulated by a provision in an act of March 3, 1865, laying a ten per cent. tax on all State bank notes paid out after July 1, 1866. The circulation of State bank notes being practically prohibited, the greater part of them reorganized as national banks. The number in existence July 1, 1866, was 1,634. The number on May 17, 1892, was 3,784.

Why was this system established? We have seen that it was born of an emergency. Why did the Government, in its habitual "assumption of unusual powers prohibit the exercise by the several States of that function which perhaps is the very last one that, with any semblance of States Rights, should be surrendered to the National Government?"

What great service was expected of the system that Congress, even in such a crisis, should resort to such extreme measures, that it should adopt a "plan of throttling out of existence all banking whatever, except what the central government controls?"

Following Comptroller Lacey's report of 1889, we may say that the successful establishment of the system was expected to result in:

(1.) A large demand for Government securities.

(2.) A uniform currency, guarded as far as practicable against depreciation.

(3.) Protection from losses in discounts and exchanges.

(4.) Diminution in the rates of interest.

(5.) Increased security of the Union.

What part the system played in diminishing the rates of interest cannot be satisfactorily determined, but it is readily conceded that a large demand for Government securities was created; that the currency has been uniform; that the losses from discounts and exchanges have been light; that the system was of great assistance in the struggle for the Union; that depositors have lost little, and that note-holders have lost nothing.

But it is evident that three of the ends which the financiers had in view in establishing the system were attained long ago, and cannot now be urged in favor of its continuance. It is no longer necessary to have a device to secure a market for Government securities; the Union is not in danger, and rates of interest are governed by the laws of supply and demand. As to the other objects that led to its establishment, it will be maintained that while the currency has been uniform, yet having gradually diminished, it is now insufficient in volume and inflexible and inelastic in quality; that not only what currency then remaining but the system itself will disappear in 1907 with the maturity of the bonds on which the system rests, and that in the meantime and afterwards the discount and exchange functions can be as well performed by the substitute proposed.

Withdrawal of Bank Notes.

Of course, it was evident from the beginning that the circulation would be contracted as the bonds on which it rested matured and were paid off. The circulation reached its height about 1874, and remained at a high level till about 1882, when the disturbances began to manifest themselves. It was about

this time that attention was strongly directed to the threatened danger and that suggestions were volunteered for averting it.

According to Comptroller Lacey's Annual Report for 1891, the circulation secured by bonds on January 1, 1870, was, in round numbers, $299,000,000, and the circulation outstanding was $300,750,000. By 1874, the amount secured by bonds was $348,500,000; in 1877, $302,000,000; in 1882, $332,300,000; in 1884, $310,000,000; in 1888, $165,200,000; in 1891, $127,750,000; and on May 17, 1892, $140,000,000. The amount outstanding was, for each of the foregoing dates, somewhat greater than the amount secured by bonds. The amount for 1874 was $350,750,000; for 1877, $321,500,000; for 1882, $362,500,000; for 1884, $350,500,000; for 1888, $263,300,000, and for 1891, $177,250,000.

This currency has been for years a disturbing element, necessitating resort, from time to time, to inferior devices, till our currency to-day is a motley mixture. From 1882 to 1888, the amount outstanding fell from $362,500,000 to $263,300,000, and from 1888 to 1892, from $263,000,000 to in the neighborhood of $150,000,000.

This gradual and irresistible disappearance of the circulation is but the disturbance preceding the disappearance of the system itself. The payment of the bonds has been gradually sapping the foundation of the system. For some time the structure has been tottering. In a few years at most it will topple over. On this important point we are fortunate in having the views and opinions of the comptrollers of the currency, of the leading bankers of the country, of our leading writers on banking, and of some of our national representatives, among whom Senator Sherman is especially noteworthy.

The whole question of bolstering up the system by providing a substitute for Government securities has been in the minds of our public men for years. In the beginning the feeling was that time would see a substitute provided. As the limit drew nearer this feeling underwent a change. What it is to-day we shall see as we proceed. We find that the question early came into prominence in the meetings of the Bankers' Association, and that it received a great deal of consideration at the hands of eminent authorities. In 1881 Mr. G. S. Coe (at one time President of the Association), President of the American Exchange National Bank of New York, speaking before the Association, said: "It is very obvious that the continued reduction of the public debt is fast removing the foundation of the national banking currency, and that the system itself, thus losing its characteristic support, is approaching dissolution. Notwithstanding the social inconveniences which may result from this rapid payment of the national debt and the consequent disturbance in the affairs of individuals and organizations throughout this country, yet the public sentiment undeniably favors its early and entire extinction. * * * However much the national currency may be regarded as superior to other systems, yet it manifestly will not be perpetuated, if to do it the national debt must also continue. Dependent upon the sentiment of the country upon that issue alone, it is evident that the currency must die. Its days are already numbered. Every fractional advance in the price of Government bonds is a blow at its life * * * and the march of events everywhere indicates its subversion from the present

basis." Mr. Coe further insisted that security could not be supplied by State bonds, by corporation bonds, or by individual mortgages of real estate. The two last classes of securities were, he thought, too fluctuating, too transitory, too local in their character for the purpose proposed, and would be given a fictitious and temporary value by the very currency they were intended to protect. He thought that the only resort for a basis for the national currency issues was to commercial assets.

Secretary McCulloch, speaking before the same Association in 1886, took substantially the same ground as President Coe had done. "Nothing but the bonds of the Government can perfectly secure a national bank circulation; of these bonds the national banks are being rapidly deprived and will soon be deprived altogether, unless the public revenues are largely reduced. Nothing can save it (the national banking system) if the redemption of the Government bonds goes on, and this can only be prevented by a reduction of the Government income to the amount required to cover its ordinary expenses, of which reduction there are at present no indications." In the same year, Senator Sherman expressed the opinion that no other security could possibly take the place of Government bonds:—"This has been tried over and over again in the United States and with disastrous results. Coin reserves in the vaults of a bank disappear at the first sign of a panic. Even reserves placed under the control of a system of State banks have proved insufficient. Mortgages on real estate, State bonds, and commercial paper have over and over again been found an inadequate security." These views were expressed when the Senate was debating some measure intended to give the national system a longer breathing spell. The doctors all disagreed. The embarrassment is well described in the following extract from the remarks of the late Senator Plumb:

"It was said yesterday that the debate had exhibited a great unanimity of sentiment in favor of the national banks, the inquiry on all hands being * * * how can we best maintain that system? * * * There is absolutely no conclusion on that point. * * * The various propositions before the Senate * * * are designed merely to toggle up the system. * * * Every member proposing a measure is absolutely certain that his is the best, that all others are wrong and not calculated to meet the case, and yet for none of them is it claimed that anything more than a breathing spell will be the result of its adoption. Mr. President, when doctors of such eminence disagree, what are laymen like myself to do? I found on my table this morning * * * an emphatic protest from the President of the Mercantile National Bank of New York against all these plans." Thus as early as 1884, it was practically agreed that the system was doomed. In 1887 Comptroller Trenholm asked for suggestions from various parts of the country for perpetuating the system. Of these suggestions he says: "Upwards of forty plans have been suggested, which are appropriately classed under five propositions, viz.:

(1) To do away with the note-issuing function of the banks.

(2) To increase the inducements for the banks to deposit United States bonds as a basis of national circulation.

(3) To provide by new issues of bonds for a continuation of the present or of some modified system of national bank circulation based on United States bonds.

(4) To substitute some other security for United States bonds deposited in the United States Treasury as a basis for national bank circulation.

(5) To allow the banks to issue circulation upon their general credit without requiring specie security to be deposited."

It would be tedious to follow Mr. Trenholm's able discussion of these propositions, but we may state his conclusion. "The last of the feasible projects, viz.. proposition fifth, seems to be the only one containing a general principle under which the national bank system can possibly be perpetuated," but he held that the objections to this were fatal. "If the views here submitted," he concludes, "are correct, it would appear that no substitute yet proposed for the present basis of national bank circulation is sufficiently free from objections to be adopted." He suggested caution and delay in making any radical change, and proposed modifications of the existing law. In 1888 Mr. Trenholm himself proposed a substitute, namely, funding in bonds the greenback debt of $364.681,016, or so much of it as may be presented at the Treasury within a limited period of time, say three years. This was open to many objections and could not be adopted. In 1889, Comptroller Lacey endeavored to ascertain the relative growth of national and State banks. He reported that it seemed quite certain that organizations under State statutes were increasing proportionately, and that this appeared to be attributable to a change of conditions which threaten the growth and permanency of the entire national system. The latter must keep pace with the growth of the nation or pass into a state of stagnation and decay." On this question of the perpetuity of the system we have the recent opinion of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, that no system founded on national bonds as a security has the remotest chance of a favorable reception by the people. "We have lived," it says, "through all the phases of a national bank note experience, and the prejudice which is felt against that kind of a currency has been outspoken for a number of years. Even now the trifling change of extending the note limit on the Government securities to the par of the bonds held fails of enactment year after year."

To conclude the citation of authorities on this question. we will give the remarks of Senator Sherman as found in his speech on the free coinage of gold and silver bullion, in the Senate June 2, 1892. In 1884 he had said that nothing could take the place of Government securities. He now admits that these must go:

"It is not necessary for me here and now to prolong the argument about these banks. No doubt they have had their day and will pass away, not because they are not good banks * * * but because the bonds of the United States upon which they rest will be paid off.

* * * * * *

"Now, Mr. President, another thing is plain: that the people of this country—whether rightly or wrongly is not for me to say—are not in favor of the longer continuance of the national banking system beyond that period which will enable them to wind up as banks of circulation, when the payment of the public interest bearing bonds is made. * * * Mr. President, I am therefore in favor of regarding the popular will as being practically expressed, that we shall not continue this banking system longer than the existence of the bonds that are outstanding. The people are not willing to

take as security for the notes they hold any less security than the Government of the United States of America, whether that be in the form of bonds or in the declaration of the Government to maintain the notes."

The Demand for a New System.

Thus it is clear that the national banking system is doomed. There will soon be no national bonds available; the difficulties in the way of securing State or corporation bonds for national issues are insurmountable. No practicable scheme can be devised for selecting such bonds. Who would discriminate? What action could be taken that would not be odious? How prevent wholesale favors and corruption?

The practical difficulty of discrimination is such as to hinder any serious project. We have the highest authority for saying that mortgages on real estate and commercial paper will not suffice. How much better, then, to leave the matter to the States. In view of all the facts presented, how frivolous and how futile it is for Republican writers and speakers to announce themselves the defenders of the system, and to cry out that exertions are being made to overthrow it! No exertions are being made for any other purpose than to allow a system that was throttled out of existence in a crisis to resume the exercise of a function that, in the process of evolution, the national system has practically ceased to perform. No exertions are necessary for the ultimate extinction of the system if it were desired. The logic of events will work this result unaided. A new environment calls for a system with functions adapted to it.

In the light of these conditions, "why continue to spend and be spent trying to do what cannot be done?" Why waste time and energy with the repeated introduction of devices which delay real reliefs? The old note has with the old circumstances about passed out of existence, and in consequence of this and of the fact that the devices resorted to have not been issued in sufficient volume to fill the vacancy, and, in addition, meet the growing needs of the country, and have not possessed the most desirable characteristics of a perfect circulation, certain demands have arisen that must be met.

There is a demand for some change in the financial arrangements that will open the way for a better distribution of the currency. Naturally the currency, as it is now constituted, has a tendency to concentrate in our large cities. In these there is a congestion, there is danger in a great many cases of apoplexy. Money is drawn away from less closely knit industrial communities. The agricultural sections are destitute. Says the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*: "It is impossible for so vast a country as this, dotted all over with important industrial centres, increasing in number every year, to have a satisfactory currency so long as the national issues redeem and dominate it. Every prerogative and attribute even of our bank notes, and still more of our silver certificates, tends to draw them away from the interior, even when the issuer is resident in a southern or western State, and lodge them in an eastern city. Only think, as an illustration, of the artifice of our present devices, of the incongruity of having Washington as the redeeming centre! What has Washington to do with the internal commerce of the country? Or wherein consists the wisdom of giving a paper currency intended as a con-

trivance for local uses, the power of paying customs dues? Why give it the semi-legal-tender character of requiring every national bank in the whole country to accept such currency in the payment of debts? These are all qualities which help to make its movements unnatural, artificial, and impart to it a roaming character, helping to force it away from the issuer, away from the country districts where it is needed, and, consequently, to induce its accumulation when out of active commercial employment in great financial centres, and while there to foster and become more or less fixed in speculative ventures—that is, unresponsive to commercial influences when needed for commercial work."

The Hon. John DeWitt Warner, of New York, speaks to the same effect. "Though I do not charge that such was the object, I am perfectly well aware that the effect of the National Banking Act is not merely to prohibit the exercise by the several States of that function which perhaps is the very last one that, with any resemblance of States Rights, should be surrendered to the Federal Government, but also to make more dependent upon the capitalists of our principal cities the possibilities of local development in all parts of the country.

"This plan to repeal the ten per cent. tax is practicable; it decentralizes the money power; it will prevent the control of the currency by the few; it meets the approval of more people than any other scheme, and it localizes our currency. At present the people and the money are too far apart. Nothing can be more desirable in a free country than that the citizens of each community should control all its affairs as far as practicable! Whenever the Government undertakes to issue notes as a circulating medium, the amount is determined not by the monetary requirements of the community, but first by the exigencies of public service, and, secondly, by the great selfishness of politicians and demagogues. In such a system there is no self-acting check."

There is a strong demand for a currency more flexible, elastic, responsive to the movements of produce and merchandise.

"What is wanted," says the editor of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, "is a volume of circulation that fairly represents the movements of produce and merchandise, coming out when it begins and retiring when the market is reached and the property passes into the channels of consumption. No issue of a Government currency can meet this want and be regulated by it unless the authorities will discount the business paper that represents the property and receive back the issues when the need has ceased and the notes and drafts have matured."

"From the standpoint of these industries (commercial and others)," writes Comptroller Trenholm in 1887, "elasticity is more important than quantity in currency. Their interests are better subserved by a currency so elastic in volume as to respond immediately to variations in the demand than by a great volume of money rigid in amount. Elasticity in the volume of currency supplies to commercial operations what springs and a smooth road supply to transportation. In each case more can be accomplished with less wear and tear and less breakage than is possible when these conditions are wanting."

Comptroller Lacey, in 1890, spoke of "that elastic quality which is necessarily one of the characteristics of a perfect circulation. Its volume should

automatically expand and contract so as to adjust itself to the varying requirements of business." Now, what is wanted, what should be, is, and has been for some time, almost the opposite of what we have. We have for some time experienced the inconveniences arising from a currency rigid and not responsive. The situation and its causes can be best expressed in the words of some of our highest authorities. In 1886 Comptroller Trenholm called attention to serious defects in the national bank currency, namely, lack of elasticity and lack of flexibility. This want of flexibility in the currency and elasticity of volume were consequences, he said, arising from the scarcity of bonds and the high prices to which they had risen. Again, in 1887, he referred to these defects still more pointedly: "Throughout the whole period of the existence of the national bank circulation, there never has been a time when the volume of the outstanding notes has been determined by commercial forces only; the operations of the Treasury have always exercised an abnormal or a disturbing influence, and reciprocally the state of the currency has constantly fettered the operations of the Treasury."

What Comptroller Lacey had to say in his report for 1890 on the lack of elasticity not only of the national bank currency, but also of the Government coin and paper money, is very striking.

"The Comptroller deems it his duty, however, to express the opinion that the steady retirement of national bank notes is gradually destroying that elastic quality which is necessarily one of the characteristics of a perfect circulation. Its volume should automatically expand and contract so as to adjust itself to the varying requirements of business. This can best be accomplished by the redemption of paper money, during periods of diminished business activity, and a corresponding reissue when the movement of crops and other causes make an expansion necessary. Such an adjustment was facilitated by the use of national bank notes, for the reason that they did not possess the legal tender quality, nor were they available for lawful money reserves by the banks. Hence when a decreased volume of business caused currency to accumulate in the reserve cities, national bank notes, being unavailable for reserve, were presented to the Treasury of the United States for redemption. Their temporary retirement during a period of diminished use was followed by reissue and a healthy expansion resulted, when an increased circulation was demanded. The coin and paper money issued by the Government is distinctively non-elastic. This arises from the fact that the legal tender quality attaches to most of the various issues, and all are available for the lawful money reserve required to be held by national banks. For these reasons every incentive to redemption and temporary retirement during those periods of temporary redundancy which periodically occur in each year is wanting, and the corresponding expansion when needed is for similar reasons rendered impracticable. * * * During recent years relief has been afforded through the operations of the Treasury Department in the purchase at opportune times of unmatured bonds with its surplus revenues. It is evident, however, that relief from this source cannot be safely relied upon in the future, for diminished revenues or increased expenditures, either of which may unexpectedly occur, would render such extraordinary disbursements impossible. Attention is called to the non-elastic character of the currency as at present

constituted in order that some consideration may be given to measures calculated to remove the evil which is evidently being aggravated by the withdrawal of national bank notes.

Finally we quote from the editor of the N. Y. *Journal of Commerce:*

"The national banks under the present system can furnish some aid by inscribed credits and the use of checks, but this will not do for the interior, where the crops are to be paid for, and some form of currency, used as paper money, is actually required. The bank notes secured by bonds at Washington must be kept in perpetual use to pay the cost of issue, and the volume cannot be enlarged and contracted to adjust itself to the demands of trade."

There are other demands and complaints that must receive consideration. Undoubtedly it would be desirable to have a simpler currency. "There is an unquestionable feeling," says Senator Sherman, "that in this country of ours the currency as it stands is *diverse*. While we here . . . may be able to explain the different kinds of money we have, there is a feeling among the people that there are too many different kinds of money." This is too patent to admit of denial. Then there is the complaint that the establishment of a national bank takes more money from a community than it brings in. If a town feels the lack of currency, about the worst thing it can do is to attempt to use the national banking system, the practical effect of which is to compel that town to take out of its circulation some $56,000 in order to obtain the poor privilege of having $45,000 of currency in return.

In the light of this discussion, is it not evident that some important change must be made in our financial arrangements, that, if possible, a system should be devised that will effect the needed reforms? The practical question, then, is what shall the system be—what currency shall supplement our national issues and ultimately take the place of the national bank notes? Shall we have Government issues only, or shall we supplement these by State banks and local issues? "We are brought face to face with the single question whether, in this new era and under these new circumstances, it is better to educate the public to look to the Federal Government for its currency or to look to the States." In settling this question, no sentimental influence should have undue weight.

Proposals for New Government Issues.

Now let us see what Government issues have been proposed and what objections have been urged against them.

President Harrison remarks, in his letter of acceptance, that changes may become necessary, and continues:

> But a national system of currency, safe and acceptable throughout the whole country, is the good fruit of a bitter experience, and I am sure our people will not consent to the reactionary proposal made by the Democratic party.

This is a fitting conclusion to the President's eulogy of an expiring system and his reminiscences on the currency of former days. But since the leading Republican financial authorities admit that the "good fruit" is nearly exhausted and that it will entirely disappear in a few years, it is difficult to see just what place such a statement as this has in an expression of views on the currency problem. It remains to be seen to which of the alternatives "our people" will

give their consent—to the do-nothing policy, or perhaps the government currency proposal of the Republican party, or to the recommendation of the Democratic party to repeal the prohibitory tax on State bank issues.

The alternative that the Republicans must present in case they should decide to take any step is to leave it to the National Government to furnish our currency.

Comptroller Knox said in his report in 1878:

> The overthrow of the present well-established system * * * will be succeeded either by *two kinds of Government notes, one* or *both* at a *discount* for gold and of *unequal* current *value*, or by circulating notes issued under State authority."

In the following year Comptroller Knox in his annual report expressed the opinion that the downfall of the National banking system would be followed *not by an issue of United States notes, i.e., greenbacks*, but by State bank notes. President Coe, speaking before the Bankers' Association in 1884, expressed himself as follows:

> In place of the present National bank currency, *the alternative will, of course, be pressed upon Congress of Government notes, whether legal tender or otherwise, as a perpetual debt.*

Senator Plumb thought in 1884 that we were confronted with two alternatives, the one a return to the State bank system, *the other that the Government should issue the currency direct.* He believed that, in case of the disappearance of national notes, the necessity of establishing State banks could be prevented by the issuance of Treasury notes receivable for all dues to the Government. Senator Ingalls advocated the issuing of Treasury notes. He thought the two alternatives, aside from this course, were State bank notes and a great fiscal institution corresponding somewhat to the Bank of England. Secretary McCulloch, before the Bankers' Association in 1884, expressed an opinion directly contrary to that of Comptroller Knox:

> It is therefore quite certain that if and when the National banks are withdrawn from circulation, their place will be filled, not with the notes of State banks, *but with the United States legal tender notes.*

Lastly, what does Senator Sherman in his speech in the Senate, June 2, 1892, propose?

> The promise of the Government now in time of peace with all the untold wealth that has accumulated since the war, is ample margin enough to maintain all the paper money that is necessary for the circulation of 65,000,000 of people. I believe that there is intelligence and good sense enough in the Congress of the United States to deal with this question and to establish an issue of paper money upon the population of our country at a ratio that a prudent man will feel to be safe under all circumstances. We have gold and silver enough as a basis for all the circulation outstanding now, probably one-third of gold and one-third of silver at their market prices, except that if a new ratio were adopted, then they would be substantially the equivalents of each other, and then probably the issues of the other one-third would be based upon the credit of the Government. Such a fiscal agency could be supported by the gold and silver in the Treasury and the pledge of the Government of the United States contained in the Resumption Act, that its bonds should be sold if necessary to maintain resumption. Such a scheme as that, such a system as that, might be easily adopted by prudent men.

Shall the Government, then, become our bank of issue? Is it likely that our bankers and "our people" will consent to this proposal?

Government issues are open to fatal objections. Such a system would be subject to the changing opinion and caprices of each successive Congress.

The demand for a currency that shall open the way for better distribution and that would not tend towards our great cities could not be met. A simple increase of the circulation by the increase of Government notes would inure chiefly to the benefit of those who control the largest part of the existing currency. If the circulation were doubled, the ratio of distribution would be practically maintained. Lack of elasticity would, as we have seen, be the characteristic defect.

President Coe, speaking before the Bankers' Association, in 1884, upon the alternative that might be pressed upon Congress, namely, to issue Government notes, said:

> I do not propose at this late day to spend the valuable hours of an association of bankers in discussing the intrinsic absurdity of any form of notes to circulate as money, in which the full commercial money value does not inhere—of whatever name or from whatever source derived; all such notes "are only evil and that continually." The higher the authority that issues them the greater their influence for harm.

Prof. Sumner, in his book on "American Currency," says (p. 214):

> Nearly every nation which has ever used paper money has fixed its amount, and set limits which it has solemnly provided again and again not to pass, but such promises are vain. The intention, when it is made, is honest, but it is impossible to keep them.

In 1879, Comptroller Knox said that, in the event of the downfall of the National banking system, the East and the North and a portion of the West would join the South in the repeal of the tax on State bank issues. They would do it to *prevent the increase* of the issue of Government notes—

> because they believe that a system of State bank notes, at the worst, can only injure the credit of individuals, while the unrestricted *issue of United States notes* will be likely to *produce* a new suspension of specie payments, and thereby injure, not only every kind of private business, but also the credit of the nation.

And then he added that not greenbacks but State bank notes would be the result of the disappearance of national bank notes.

Do our bankers, then, realize the situation? The National banking system is doomed. Some substitute must be provided. In consequence of the inadequate quantity of bank notes, and of other conditions we have presented, there is a demand for some substitute *now*. Are the people and the bankers willing to leave the function of supplying a paper currency to the Government? Would it not be wise to take advantage of the present favorable conditions to repeal this tax, so that those States that wish to do so may establish systems of banking adapted to their conditions?

The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 14, 1892, said:

> Altogether, at this juncture, everything seems to tend to make the present time peculiarly opportune for a successful struggle to recreate our currency. At the moment the only apparent obstacle to an effective move, as we look at it, is the lack of a system which will fill the place of bullion notes and meet the wish for an unrestricted paper currency which the agricultural classes think will be the result of the free coinage of silver.

Now, what is the "reactionary" proposal of the Democratic party to which the consent of our people is asked? What solution of the problem does it propose? It realizes the difficulties and dangers of dealing with the [illegible]ces. It has regard for what is practicable. The proposal is merely to draw up certain general regulations and then to repeal the 10 per cent. tax on the notes of those State banks that comply with the regulations. The party has not yet recom-

mended the establishment of a single State bank. It proposes to open the way for each State to decide the matter for itself.

The Movement to Repeal the Tax Act.

The movement to repeal this tax is not of recent origin. Since 1875, more than thirty bills have been introduced in Congress either to secure the repeal or to place State and National bank issues on the same level.

The measure has been advocated by many of our highest and most conservative financial authorities

The editor of the N. Y. *Journal of Commerce* writes in the *Forum*, August, 1892:

> The project of repealing the present prohibitory tax of 10 per cent. on the issues is a very hopeful movement in favor of a most welcome change in the financial condition of the country.

It will be remembered that the tax was imposed in an emergency, that its object was to crush out State bank notes, confer a monopoly by way of inducement, and secure a market for United States bonds. This unconstitutional step was taken under the guise of a scheme to raise revenue. Not a dollar of revenue was realized, not one was expected. The taxing power was simply perverted to accomplish what Congress could not undertake to do directly. Before this no one had seriously denied the constitutional right of a State to decide for itself whether it would charter banks or not; no one had entertained the thought that Congress would interfere with the States in this direction. The question had been whether Congress could charter National banks. But the framers of the act did not delay over questions of constitutionality, they were acting in an emergency. Now, however, that the emergency has long passed away, should the law be permitted to remain longer on the statute book? Should not the States be restored to their constitutional rights?

As has been intimated, the proposal to repeal this tax does not necessarily imply the establishment of a single State bank. The question will be left entirely to each State to determine for itself. If its conditions require it, the State may establish a system, otherwise not. In highly organized commercial sections the issuing of notes becomes a secondary function of banks. It is therefore possible that certain Eastern States, closely knit industrial communities, with their abundant circulation and loanable funds, and their extensive resort to checks and drafts, would not see fit to charter State banks. There would be no force to coerce them.

Undoubtedly certain States would establish State banks if the tax were repealed, and with this expected and taken for granted, suggestions have been made as to what the plan should be. One that is worthy of consideration was made by the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of May 14, 1892. It says:

> We have no exact method to unfold for giving shape to this idea. * * * Probably the plan would meet with more favor in the East and not be less acceptable to the Southwest if Congress should make a kind of framework for a system—say, (1) taking off all tax from the circulation of banks, State and National, which conformed to the provisions of the act; (2) leaving each State free to levy such taxes as it might see fit on circulation for the purpose of accumulating a fund to redeem notes of its own insolvent banks and perhaps for other purposes; (3) providing that no bank could ever have retained at any one time more circulating notes in amount than two-thirds of its paid-up capital stock; (4) that each bank's circulating

notes should be a first lien on all the assets of the bank; (5) that every bank must redeem its own notes in coin, and for that purpose keep on hand 25 per cent of its outstanding issues in gold or silver coin—the proportion of silver to be held might be fixed by each State for the banks within the State, and not less than one-third nor more than one-half of the reserve required; (6) providing that no bank could issue circulation except under the added authority of the State.

A very few regulations somewhat after the form suggested might be thought desirable, but, with these exceptions, the banks should be left to State control and supervision and the laws of commerce to perfect and develop.

The second suggestion is from Congressman Hemphill. He developed his idea in a speech in the last House of Representatives on Bank Circulation.

I suggest as the most feasible plan the amendment of the existing statute which levies a tax of 10 per cent. upon notes issued by State banks; to except from its operations all notes issued by State banking associations, provided the said notes under the law whereby they are issued are secured (1) by the deposit with some designated officer of the State or the United States of a sufficient number of bonds of the United States or any State, counties or cities, which at par shall equal the circulation to be issued by the bank; (2) by a first lien upon all the assets of the bank; (3) by the additional liability of the stockholders to the extent of 100 per cent. over and above the sum actually paid in by them for their stock.

These suggestions from conservative sources speak for themselves. They are serious attempts by patriotic and honest thinkers, men who yield to none in their desire for an honest and sound currency, to suggest a solution of our difficulties. How different is their manner of approaching the problem from that of the Republican leaders. The latter disingenuously select the worst cases of the operation of the old State bank system, and rely on frightening the people by the alarm of wild cat banking. President Harrison takes up the greater part of what he has to say on National banks in an attempt to throw the worst possible odor around the Democratic recommendation, to make it appear that the party is committed to a policy which will bring about the worst features of the old State bank systems. He writes in his letter of acceptance:

Those who in the years before the war experienced the inconvenience and losses attendant upon the use of such money can appreciate what a return to that system involves. The denomination of a bill was then often no indication of its value. The bank detector of yesterday was not a safe guide to-day as to credit or values. Merchants deposited several times during the day, lest the hour of bank closing should show a depreciation of money taken in the morning. The traveler could not use in a journey to the East the issues of most of the solvent banks of the West; and, in consequence, the money changer's office was the familiar neighbor of the ticket office and the lunch counter. The farmer and the laborer found the money they received for their products or their labor depreciated when they came to make purchases, and the whole business of the country was hindered and burdened.

Not a word here or in the productions of other Republican writers about the vast changes since the period they refer to; nothing about the wonderful advance in the means of communication; nothing about the growth of knowledge or the principles and practice of banking; nothing about the conservative tendencies that since have developed. It was to be expected that the President, at least, would show a broader statesmanship. The American people are not so easily misled. They know that the conditions are too radically different to make a return of the objectionable features possible. They know that business communication between the States is now general and constant; that the telegraph and the railroad have brought men together; that banking has made great progress; that business methods have improved;

that Legislatures have become more careful; that public opinion has grown more conservative, and that the old note has with the old circumstances passed out of existence. The people would not tolerate any system which would give them a currency liable to depreciate on their hands.

The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 28, 1892, said:

> The note's increasing credit and currency would be the premium commerce would pay a secure device, would be the inducement held out by commerce for making a safe system. Commerce of to-day would enforce discrimination—it would detect and reject a sham.

Moreover, the people know that the sources from which the proposals to repeal the tax have come are the best guarantees against any wildcat idea in connection with it.

But further, the people know that the conditions that the President and the Republicans picture, did not prevail in the more highly organized communities; that they characterized only the crude systems and those that had sprung up in the undeveloped parts of the country; and that even there the worst features were being thrown off. About these things, about the better systems that existed in New York, in Louisiana, and throughout the East, upon which the National banking system was based, the President and others have nothing to say. Now let us see briefly what the true condition of affairs was. Was there not some good in the old system? Was not that good becoming better? Would not our legislators incline to follow the better systems, if they were to appeal to former experiences?

The Conditions for Future Evolution.

The old system was a growth—an evolution; every few years of experience saw the system more perfect. The culmination was the National banking system. Just before the blow came many State banks were working well, and rendered great services at the outbreak of the war. The country was new, undeveloped, speculation was rife, conservative tendencies had not fully developed. Of course then there were sections of the country in which there were very crude organizations. This was especially true of certain parts of the West. In these sections there were "wildcat" banks and associations issuing "shin plasters." The general banking laws worked badly in many States. There were banking concerns that had little *bona fide* capital, had little or no security for their notes, were frequently controlled by irresponsible men, and at times with fraudulent intent. The notes, therefore, in some sections were at a discount and rates of exchange were high. Wherever this was true business was seriously hampered. But this state of things was by no means universal. How was it in the more highly organized communities? In New England, in New York, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky, South Carolina? President George S. Coe, of the National Exchange Bank, of New York, in an address before the Bankers' Association, in 1881, of which he was President, expressed his opinion of the systems of several of the States. He certainly did not think them altogether bad. He said:

> First—The system of New England under the mutual redemption and exchange of notes at the Suffolk Bank, Boston, proved a safe and effective one and was attended with little or no loss to the community during its many years of trial.

Second—The States of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky each enjoyed for a long period, under their State organizations, a strictly commercial circulation of great efficiency without loss to the holders of the notes.

Third—The State of Louisiana possessed a banking and currency system unsurpassed in its excellence and stability.

Fourth—The currency system of the State of New York last established was the first one requiring such special collateral security for its issues. So far as this security consisted of bonds and mortgages upon real estate it was an admitted failure and the change to State bonds did not save it from suspension in 1857.

In a work by Henry Felt Baker, entitled "Banks and Banking," 1854, it is stated that in the Ohio Valley the notes of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky were more readily taken than those of New York or even of New England, and it had already been stated that those of New England were readily received throughout the country.

In view of the vast differences between the two periods and of the really excellent system that existed in certain sections, is it to be feared that there will be a return to wildcat banking? Is not the editor of the New York *Journal of Commerce* right when, in speaking of the possibility of a depreciated bank-note circulation, he says:

There is not a State in the Union which would authorize or allow it; and if it were attempted, the facilities for collection are now so great that it would be crushed out at once. The best features of the former statutes would be preserved in the new State legislation, and the natural law of supply and demand would govern all the rest of the needed restrictions. * * * It was the want of suitable means of communication with every part of the country, with the object of demanding immediate redemption of unworthy notes, which gave any facilities for what was known as wildcat banking.

The Requirements of a New System.

It only remains to state what is claimed for the system that would exist if the tax were repealed and what its working would be.

In the first place, we would then have a financial arrangement in harmony with the spirit of American institutions—a paramount Federal system and a local system of issue. This is the divergence that characterizes and gives strength to our fabric. The country is too extensive, the conditions and demands of the different sections too varied, to make it possible for the central Government to supply a satisfactory currency for operations not connected with its own affairs.

Said the N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, August 10, 1892:

This was the original theory upon which our institutions were founded, and a world of mischief has come from innovations born of the centralizing policy that would govern everything to the remotest school district by the Federal authorities.

We have had altogether too much of this and every thoughtful man in the country not involved in these schemes is sick of them.

The nation has suffered enough from a central distributing power over our currency. Are the people not yet educated up to the point of local control over their currency? Our local government in their spheres evokes the admiration of the world. Would not the restoration of State control cultivate even a high financial education than we now possess?

This leads us to say, in the second place, that there would result a better distribution of the currency—a more even distribution of banking facilities.

The tendency for money to flow toward the great money centres, the tendency towards centralization would be counteracted.

The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 14, 1892, says:

First—The tendency of these bank notes will be towards home and not away from it. That is, will be to stay within the State of their issue; in this characteristic they will differ from every paper note now in existence.

Second—When out of active use they will go into the bank for redemption and not accumulate at Chicago or New York, to breed unhealthy speculative ventures.

In case of a lack of uniformity—and uniformity does not outweigh all other considerations—this tendency to remain in the State of issue would be still stronger.

Finally, this repeal of the tax would open the way for the establishment of a currency flexible and responsive. When trade was active and the crops had to be moved, the issues of State banks would supplement the national currency. These issues would be of great advantage to interior localities where the need for them exists. Being the creatures of commerce, they would obey the natural law of supply and demand, when an increased circulation was needed to move the crops.

Again says the *Journal of Commerce:*

The movement itself would regulate the issue and its return if the banks were permitted to take part in it. The buyers of the produce would give their notes or draw on leading houses at financial centres, at thirty, sixty, or ninety days, and the banks would discount the notes or draft and furnish currency by the issue of their own bills. These would be paid out and by the time the drafts become due would return for redemption, having performed the circuit and accomplished their mission.

But this is illusory, says one writer. There would be no such circuit. Those have a wild idea who think that the State bank would withdraw the currency as soon as the demand to move the crops had ceased. They do not take into account the cupidity of bank officers. Currency once issued by the banks would be issued forever, and would be a constant menace to the permanence of specie payments. It seems to us that the "wild idea" is in the head of the writer who fancies that a bank which has issued a note redeemable on demand "has issued it forever." It is not the bank which makes a voluntary movement to withdraw its issues from circulation, but it is the natural flow of the issues back to the bank for redemption that regulates and completes the circuit. A buyer of produce borrows $100,000 on his indorsed note or accepted draft and pays the bills he receives to the sellers, throughout a large rural district; the notes go into circulation and begin at once the inevitable movement toward a financial centre. The farmer pays his debts with them, they go to the village storekeeper, or to some dealer owing money in the city. They reach the centre at last, and by this time the produce has come to market and the notes or drafts are due and paid, so that the bank is in funds to take its notes back again. It must redeem them on the instant or admit its insolvency. It cannot if it would make the notes stay out longer than they are needed for the accomplishment of their mission. If people would have a little more faith in the laws written by a Divine Hand in the constitution of things, and not try to govern the world by their own wisdom, panics and pressures and financial crisises would be far less frequent on the pages of human history.

We close this discussion with quotations from two sources we have drawn on rather heavily. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 14, 1892, says:

While we have advocated this change because of its usefulness as a method for obtaining relief from our present difficulties, we believe the repeal of the tax to be highly desirable as opening the way for obtaining a new system which will be thoroughly sound and responsive

to commerce. Its peculiar usefulness as a scheme for furnishing a substitute for silver purchases and silver coinage is apparent for the reason already stated: that it answers to the popular demand, and, consequently, gives assurance, when understood, of being accepted as a substitute.

David M. Stone, editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, said in the *Forum*, August, 1892 :

There would follow from the repeal the most perfect currency for business purposes the world has ever known. Flexible in its character, redeemable at all central points, and thus always at par throughout every portion of the country, and meeting the needs of the hour in its answer to every legitimate demand, it would prevent pressure and stringency in the money market and injure no one but the greedy speculator who makes his percentage in a financial crisis."

HARRISONIAN DIPLOMACY.

THE DISGRACEFUL RECORD OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN CHILIAN AFFAIRS.

President Harrison's supporters, in soliciting the suffrages of patriotic citizens, are laying great stress on the record of the Administration in the recent controversy with Chili. It is pointed to as reflecting a true "American" spirit. The keynote of the conduct of the President and Secretary Blaine is found in the "vigorous foreign policy" adopted early in the Administration for the guidance of the Executive in dealing with all international difficulties, but a careful examination of the history of this episode will not be likely to win for the Republican candidate the support of thoughtful voters. The record is one of humiliation and disgrace, of which every American should feel heartily ashamed. The story, as drawn from the diplomatic records of the State Department, is well worth the perusal of every intelligent citizen.

The controversy between the late President Balmaceda and the Chilian Congress is now a matter of history. It was in many respects a novel dispute. The two co-ordinate branches of a republican government had quarrelled and had taken the field against each other, with apparently equal chances of success. Each charged the other with having violated the constitution and with attempting to set up a government upon lines entirely foreign to the institutions and traditions of the country. From the outset the course of the Congressional party was far more conservative than that of President Balmaceda, who at once assumed the functions and adopted the methods of a dictator. He dispersed the Legislature and closed the courts by armed force. He collected the revenues and disbursed the public moneys without the warrant of legislative appropriation. It is true that by an accident he happened to be in possession of the capital, but as has been frequently pointed out, the French Commune occupied Paris for nearly a hundred days against more than 300,000 men.

In view of these facts, the position of the United States Minister at Santiago was a delicate one. True Republican instincts should have inclined an intelligent, conscientious minister to the cause of the Congressionalists. The difficulty of deciding which party was right, and the necessity under his official instructions and the rules of the diplomatic service of observing absolute neutrality, should have prevented the minister from identifying himself with either

party. The published correspondence and reports of other foreign ministers stationed at Santiago throughout the Chilian revolution show that it was not difficult to remain absolutely neutral. Indeed the carefully defined middle ground occupied by the diplomatic representatives of other foreign powers enabled them to file prompt protests against the action of either party when it appeared to threaten the interests of foreign residents in Chili. The United States, alone, became involved in a bitter and costly controversy with its South American neighbor.

The open rupture between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Chilian Government was precipitated in the summer of 1890 by the appointment by President Balmaceda of a ministry which was not acceptable to the majority in Congress. This was followed by the refusal of Congress to vote supplies for the maintenance of the Government, an act finding full warrant in the Chilian Constitution.

Egan's Misrepresentations.

Minister Egan at once plunged into the controversy as an enthusiastic supporter of Balmaceda. In his conversation in the other legations, and even in the public clubs of Santiago, he did not hesitate to predict the ultimate and speedy success of the Balmacedan movement. In a report to the State Department under date of October 17, 1890, Minister Egan declared his abiding faith in Balmaceda's success in the following terms:

"The President has therefore appointed the present ministry entirely from his own section of the party, which is in the minority in Congress, and he has taken the step of summarily closing the extraordinary session of Congress which he had called for the first of the present month, and which was expected to continue until the end of December. This action has caused intense feeling and will lead to a very active agitation on the part of the opposition which in all probability will continue until the election of members of Congress in March next. Then, however, the President's party will, so far as I can now judge, secure a majority."

In his cabled report to the State Department of the revolt of the Chilian Navy, under date of January 12, 1891, he said:

"On night of 6th instant, six ships of Chilian Navy, at instance of Congressional majority, revolted and still lie inactive off shore; are now declared outlawed. Large number of opposition leaders on board. Army seems solid for President. The Government, so far, maintains perfect order throughout the country."

Minister Egan followed this cabled report with a detailed statement of the causes which led up to the withdrawal of the Congressionalists, and shows clearly his bias in favor of Balmaceda in the following comment upon the President's published defence:

"On the 1st instant, the President issued through the medium of the *Diario Oficial*, a very able exposition of the causes which have led up to the present deplorable situation and of the position which he proposes to maintain. I will forward copy of this manifesto together with a translation by next mail. * * * Meantime the President and his Cabinet have taken the most active

steps to organize the army which, from the best information I can gather, appears to me to be entirely loyal, and to increase its strength, and up to the present the most complete order has been maintained everywhere throughout the country."

Three days after transmitting Balmaceda's "very able exposition" Minister Egan learned that the Congressional party proposed to blockade certain Chilian ports. He thereupon sent the following cablegram to the State Department:

"Revolted fleet about to blockade Valparaiso, Iquique and other ports. I have advised Consuls to make strong protests. Squadron urgently needed for protection of United States interests."

It appears to have been Mr. Egan's impression from the outset that any undertaking on the part of the Congressionalists imperiled "United States interests." The forcible closing of the courts, the suspension of Chilian banks, and the stoppage of trade, due to the overt acts of Balmaceda, do not seem to have required, in Minister Egan's opinion, the presence of any additional force to guard the interests of American citizens.

From time to time Minister Egan posted the State Department as to the situation in Chili. "The army," he said, "seems to be entirely loyal to the Executive, and is being rapidly increased; by the end of the month its number will reach 25,000 men."

A few days later he felicitates himself on the fact that "in every case during the present troubles, where the interests of a United States citizen were endangered, the Government has taken the most prompt and energetic steps to see that their persons and property were protected. * * * From reference to the archives I perceive that the present good feeling on the part of the Government toward United States citizens and United States interests presents a very agreeable contrast to that shown during the revolutionary movements of the years 1851 and 1859." By the "Government" Mr. Egan, of course, refers to the Balmacedan wing.

On March 4, 1891, Mr. Egan received a rude shock in the form of a despatch from Mr. Merriam, U. S. Consul at Iquique, advising him of the abondonment of that port by the "Government" forces and its occupation by a force of marines from the revolutionary fleet; also of the subsequent attempt of a small force of Government troops to retake the city, which led to the burning by the Government troops of a part of the town, including the U. S. consulate, which was completely destroyed, with all its property and archives. Mr. Egan reports these facts to the Department without delay and in his haste probably forgets to draw the attention of Secretary Blaine to this most recent manifestation of "good feeling on the part of the 'Government' towards the United States."

In the days that followed, Mr. Egan and President Balmaceda became such excellent friends that the United States Minister was frequently called upon for advice and assistance. Under date of March 8, 1891, Mr. Egan expended about $200 of the State Department's cable fund in forwarding the statement that President Balmaceda "urgently requests that the Government of the United States will permit one of its ships to carry from Valparaiso to Montevideo a sum of about four million dollars, bar silver, etc."

The transmission of this request by Minister Egan was regarded as such a breach of propriety in the circumstances that Secretary Blaine directed that no answer should be sent, a fact of which the Minister bitterly complains in subsequent communications to the Department. The Chilian Minister at Washington, Egan says, reports to the Minister of Foreign Relations at Santiago that the proposition was favorably received. He cannot understand why instructions have not come to hand. It will be seen that Minister Egan was promptly informed through Balmaceda's State Department of the progress of matters in Washington.

The sanguinary battle on March 7, near Iquique, between the Balmacedan forces and the Congressionalists, in which the former were completely annihilated and the control of the northern provinces given to the revolutionists, was reported by Egan under date of March 17, 1891, but this incident does not appear to have dashed his hopes of Balmaceda's final triumph.

"I look," said he, "for a long and bitter and a sanguinary struggle, with the chances for ultimate victory very largely on the side of the Government."

In order that the State Department may not be prejudiced by press reports received from Chili, Mr. Egan includes in his despatch the following warning:

"The West Coast Telegraph cable being cut between here and Iquique, and the Central and South American Companies cable not being permitted to commence operations, you will, of course, receive no cable news through the press, except that sent out through revolutionary sources at Iquique."

A fair sample of the information conveyed to the State Department by Egan is found in this extract from a despatch, dated March 31:

"Outside of Tarapaca the revolutionists have no organized force and as communication with that province is shut off, it is impossible to gauge their actual strength. I do not believe, however, that they can at the outside command over 4,000 to 5,000 men, while the Government force amounts to 30,000 well-equipped soldiers."

A few weeks later when the Congressionalists had wiped out the "Government" army, Minister Egan confessed to the inaccuracy of his estimates in a report to the Department in which he states that the defeat of the Balmacedan forces in the decisive battles of Placillas and Concon was due, first, to the superior generalship on the side of the Congressionalists, and second, to the superiority of the equipment of the troops.

THE "ITATA" INCIDENT.

The incident most aggravating to the Congressional party in the whole course of the treatment of the Chilian affair by the United States was the attempted detention and subsequent pursuit of the transport "Itata," which early in May, 1891, put into San Diego to take off a cargo of small arms for the use of the insurgent forces at Iquique. The presence of the "Itata" and the nature of her mission became known to the local Federal officials very soon after her arrival in port. On the ground that she was carrying arms to be used against a power with which the United States was at peace, the vessel was seized and a deputy marshal placed on board to hold her. Mr. Ricardo Trumbull, who

was one of the agents employed in securing the cargo for the "Itata," was arrested on a charge of violating the neutrality laws and was compelled to give bail in a large sum. It was found that the "Itata" contained no arms, but it was already known that the schooner "Robert and Minnie" had cleared with several thousand rifles and a quantity of ammunition, and it was supposed that the "Itata" intended to meet the schooner at a rendezvous beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the United States and there receive her cargo. As a matter of fact, when the "Itata" was seized no one in the United States knew what the power in Chili was with which we were at peace. There was just as much reason for supposing that the "Itata" was rendering a legal service to a friendly power as that she was engaged in hostile operations against one.

The commander of the "Itata" felt so sure of his ground that he did not hesitate, in contempt of the United States Court, to steam out of San Diego, put the deputy marshal ashore on an island and make good his escape to the high seas. Enormous pressure was at once brought to bear upon President Harrison to order the pursuit of the transport. The Attorney-General's Office promptly rendered the remarkable opinion that, no matter what the original charge might have been, the vessel was in contempt of court in effecting her escape, and therefore should be pursued without delay. Consul McCreery, at Valparaiso, cabled that the Chilian "Government" earnestly desired the United States to retake the transport. Officers of the South American Steamship Company also cabled and telegraphed to the State Department alleging that the "Itata" had been seized by the insurgents, and begging the United States to assist in restoring their property.

After a brief conference with the Cabinet at Washington the President ordered the pursuit of the "Itata" and Secretary Tracy telegraphed to the commander of the "Charleston," then lying at San Francisco, the following instructions:

"Proceed at earliest moment in search of both vessels and seize both if on high seas. If in foreign waters, watch her and telegraph Department. If schooner is found alone, put sufficient prize crew on board and send her to San Francisco and continue pressing search for 'Itata.' If 'Itata' is found, seize her and accompany her into port. If 'Itata' is convoyed by Chilian war vessel, explain circumstances and demand restoration to possession of the United States. If demand refused, enforce it if your force is clearly sufficient; if not sufficient, follow 'Itata' till you fall in with Admiral Brown, now at Callao, who has been ordered to intercept her."

Similar instructions were issued to the commanders of the "Omaha" and the "San Francisco." Within a few hours three United States war vessels were engaged in hot pursuit of the "Itata" and her little consort. For a week the United States cruisers steamed up and down the Pacific coast. Daily press despatches reported numerous rumors that the "Itata" had been taken, and these were promptly cabled to Chili and published in the local newspapers. The effect of the course of the United States was clearly indicated by Admiral McCann in a report to the Navy Department under date of May 12. He said:

"The detention by our Government of the steamer 'Itata' at San Diego has very much gratified the Chilian Government, while the insurgents, on the other hand, are equally indignant. This vessel belonged to the Compania Sud-Amer-

icana de Vapores (South American Steamship Company) and had been seized by the insurgents at the outbreak of the revolution. The president and the secretary of this company have made affidavits before the United States Consul at Valparaiso to the effect that the vessel had been forcibly seized by the insurgents and was at San Diego for arms without their knowledge or consent."

The conduct of the insurgent leaders upon receiving reliable information that the "Itata" had run away from San Diego and was being pursued by United States war vessels reflected the greatest credit upon their sagacity and discretion. Under date of May 18, Isidoro Errazuriz, Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Iquique, addressed a note to Admiral Brown from which the following is an extract:

"If the news be correct, this Government would deplore the conduct of the 'Itata,' and as an evidence that it is not disposed to support or acknowledge an infraction of the United States laws, the subscriber takes advantage of the personal relation you have been good enough to maintain with him since your arrival to declare to you that, as soon as the 'Itata' is within reach of orders, this Government will place her, with munitions of war taken aboard at San Diego, at the disposition of the United States through the worthy agency of yourself, in order that the United States laws, interrupted at San Diego, may follow their course."

This communication was promptly cabled to the Navy Department by Admiral Brown, and in accordance with the pledges contained therein, the "Itata" was surrendered to the United States within twenty days, and her cargo of arms, which had been taken off by the insurgent's cruiser "Esmeralda," was also given up.

With the return of the "Itata" to San Diego the machinery of the courts was again set in motion, but, greatly to the humiliation of the Navy Department officials, the case against the Chilian transport and the charge on which Ricardo Trumbull was indicted were both formally abandoned. A careful investigation of all the facts in connection with the affair, which should have been made before the "Itata" was seized, demonstrated clearly that the United States had no case. The situation had not changed in the slightest degree, but the Court, uninfluenced by political considerations or by an overweening desire to "support the administration," concluded that there had been no attempt at "fitting out or arming a vessel to cruise or commit hostilities against the subjects, citizens or property of any foreign prince or state or any colony, district or people with whom the United States were at peace." In effect, the Court decided that Balmaceda was not, when the "Itata" was seized, either a prince or state, colony, district or people. He was simply a Chilian in revolt against his own Government, and not entitled to recognition by the United States. Had the "Itata" been captured on the high seas in accordance with the instructions of Secretary Tracy, there is little doubt, in view of the decision of the Federal Court, that the rehabilitated Chilian Government would have had a sound claim for damages against the United States.

SECRETARY BLAINE RETIRES.

Secretary Blaine retired to Bar Harbor at this period of the controversy, and the correspondence that followed was conducted by Acting-Secretary Wharton on behalf of the State Department. Mr. Wharton's confidence in President Balmaceda's humane methods does not appear to have been as implicit as that of Mr. Egan, for under date of May 14, 1891, the American Minister received an admonitory cablegram instructing him that, if envoys of the insurgent party should come within the jurisdiction of President Balmaceda, relying on an offer of mediation or on the invitation of mediators, he will insist that under any circumstances they shall have the ordinary treatment provided for parties advancing under flag of truce. Mr. Wharton adds that it is reported in Washington that Balmaceda threatens to shoot such envoys if found within his jurisdiction.

Mr. Egan at once makes this cablegram the text for an attack upon the newspaper reports concerning the progress of the revolution. After denying that President Balmaceda had ever threatened to shoot envoys, Mr. Egan declares that the newspaper reports are, "for the most part, absurdly exaggerated." Coquimbo, he says, and all Southern Chili, "are under the control of the Government, whose resources are ample and forces consist of forty thousand well-armed men, while the revolutionists have control of the northern provinces, command a force of about six thousand badly-armed men and rely chiefly upon the navy, drawing their revenue from the shipments of saltpetre."

During the month of May Minister Egan asked and received authority to make an offer of mediation between the Presidential party and the Congressionalists. The negotiations were entered upon by representatives of the United States, Brazil and France, and after proceeding for the space of a week, were broken off by Balmaceda's Minister of the Interior acting on behalf of the President.

Mr. Egan's reports to the State Department continued to shed a roseate hue over Balmaceda's prospects until the very eve of the landing of the insurgent forces in Quinteros Bay.

On the morning of August 20, the revolutionists landed a force of more than ten thousand well equipped soldiers at the port of Quinteros, and a desperate battle was fought at Concon, resulting in the overwhelming defeat of the Balmacedan forces. This decisive victory of the insurgents was followed up a few days later by an engagement near the city of Valparaiso, which resulted in the defeat and utter demoralization of the "government" army. The city surrendered to the opposition, Balmaceda turned over the government to General Baquedano, one of the insurgent officers, and, with his family, fled for asylum to the United States Legation. In spite of the sorrow which Egan must have felt at the overthrow of his old friend Balmaceda, he advised the State Department, under date of September 7, 1891, that he was "in cordial communication with the Provisional Government, established on the 4th instant," and that the new government was "universally accepted by the people."

Attitude of United States Naval Officers.

The "Itata" affair and Minister Egan's course throughout the Chilian revolution were not the only incidents calculated to irritate the Chilians and cause them to entertain hostile feelings towards the United States and her citizens. The Navy Department fared but little better than the State Department in the matter of securing reliable information regarding the situation in Chili during the revolution and the conduct of the United States naval officers in Chilian waters has been made the subject of much deserved criticism.

Admiral McCann, who reconnoitered the Chilian coast in March, 1891, reported on the insurgent cause as follows:

"They are powerless to make any serious demonstration in the southern provinces or even interrupt the ordinary traffic and business of the country as carried on through the principal commercial ports of the south. In other words, President Balmaceda is master of the situation."

Subsequently Admiral McCann and Minister Egan held a conference and decided that the insurgents could not under any circumstances gain further material advantage. Admiral McCann had occasion afterward to change his mind, and in a communication to the Department refers to his highly indiscreet action in these terms:

"I have to regret that in my note to Senor Errazuriz I incautiously quoted too freely from Mr. Egan's letter to me, especially that part in which he expressed the opinion that 'the Government at Santiago cannot be disturbed.' The consequences of this inadvertence on my part will be observed in the declaration of Senor Errazuriz."

It will be seen that Admiral McCann by his indiscretion made an indelible record of Egan's partisan utterances.

Admiral McCann was soon relieved of his command of the American fleet in Chilian waters by Rear-Admiral Brown, but the news received at the Navy Department from this officer does not appear to have been of a more reliable character than that furnished by his predecessor. The day before the bloody battle of Concon, Admiral Brown reported to Secretary Tracy that the "Government" was confident of its ability to defeat the insurgents, and had 20,000 well equipped men who could be concentrated at any point near the capital within a few hours.

But Admiral Brown's minor indiscretions pale into insignificance when compared with his now famous Quinteros Bay expedition. On the morning of August 20 rumors became current in Valparaiso that the insurgents had effected a landing in Quinteros Bay. No special reason has been given why Admiral Brown should have regarded it as his duty to secure advance information of what the insurgents were doing. It is a fact, however, that he at once got up steam on the "San Francisco," proceeded to Quinteros Bay, and there observed the landing of the Congressionalists, and immediately returned to Valparaiso, where the news became public property. The newsboys the next morning cried the headline: "News of the fleet, brought by the 'San Francisco,'" and the Government paper began its account with the introductory line: "From trustworthy news brought by the United States warship 'San Francisco,' which arrived yesterday, we know for a fact, etc."

The United States had no interests to protect in Quinteros Bay and nothing but curiosity induced Admiral Brown to undertake the expedition. It is difficult to understand how he could have failed to appreciate the indiscretion of such an act, especially since he laid himself open to the strongest imputation of having violated neutrality in furnishing a full confirmation to the Balmacedan authorities of matters which were but rumors when the expedition was undertaken. On this point Admiral Brown himself, in a despatch to the Department, says:

"Having been informed by the Government authorities in this city that a landing had been effected, and having learned through experience to distrust the correctness of all such information given me as official, I got under way in this ship, steamed up the coast and entered Quinteros Bay, saw for myself that a landing had been made from eight transports and six men-of-war, and without communicating with any of the ships I returned to this place and cabled the result of my observations to the Department."

In a detailed report afterward submitted in his own defense, Admiral Brown declares that his cablegram to the Navy Department was in cipher, and although it received the vise of Admiral Viel, the Intendente of Valparaiso, that official could not have read it. Whether Admiral Brown's cablegram to the Navy Department was the only communication from him which Intendente Viel received or not, it is a fact that Lieutenant Dyer, Admiral Brown's flag lieutenant, offered for Intendente Viel's vise a full report of what had been seen in Quinteros Bay, addressed to a New York paper and written in plain English. It cannot be denied, therefore, that immediately upon the return of the "San Francisco" from Quinteros Bay the Intendente of Valparaiso was placed in possession of all the information which Admiral Brown had been able to gather. Lieutenant Dyer's report, which was carefully read by Admiral Viel, was as follows:

"Insurgents landed morning, Quinteros, eight transports, three tugs, four warships. About eight thousand. Government sent force. Battle imminent. Admiral Brown saw landing. Flagship 'San Francisco,' 'Baltimore,' Valparaiso. 'Esmeralda' off harbor. Quiet here."

In view of the heavy responsibility resting upon Admiral Brown in consequence of his uncalled-for and indiscreet action in visiting Quinteros Bay, it is fair to state that when he denied to the Department that he had furnished any information regarding the insurgents' movements, he may not have been informed of Lieut Dyer's action. So great was the scandal growing out of this episode that Secretary Tracy cabled Admiral Brown as follows:

"Did you, or any of the officers, or your crew, on return on that occasion to Valparaiso, Chili, communicate information about what you saw to any person not connected with your vessel?"

To this inquiry Admiral Brown replied:

"No one from this ship gave information."

Neither Admiral Brown nor the Navy Department has as yet paid any attention to the following telegram found among the effects of the late President Balmaceda:

"VALPARAISO, August 21, 1891, 9.86 A. M.

"Mr. President—The American Admiral has left me only this moment and he believes as I do that a reëmbarkation is not possible.

"VIEL."

This telegram would seem to be conclusive evidence that Admiral Brown was on shore early on the morning of the 21st, conferring with the Intendente of Valparaiso and giving him valuable information. Neither the Intendente nor any one in Valparaiso, except Admiral Brown and those on his ship, had witnessed the disembarkation at Quinteros. It was highly important for Balmaceda to know whether the Congressionalists were really landing a force or were simply making a feint to induce him to concentrate his troops at the wrong point and leave them free to strike elsewhere. Intendente Viel was glad to inform the President that Admiral Brown had assured him that the disembarkation was a genuine one. With this information Balmaceda concentrated his troops with no misgivings as to the outcome.

It is impossible to calculate the result of the early information received by the Balmacedan authorities of the landing of the insurgents. It is generally believed, however, that at least one of the bloody battles would have been avoided had not the Balmacedan forces in and around Valparaiso received notice of the approach of the Congressional army.

There is no evidence to show that Admiral Brown has been subjected to any investigation whatever as to his course in the Quinteros incident. The officials of the Navy Department have stated from time to time that an "inquiry" was in progress, but this appears to have been limited to securing the *ex parte* statements of the Admiral, with which the Department seems to have been quite content.

Another incident that very naturally aroused the indignation of the Chilians and increased their animosity towards United States naval officers was the false report cabled to a New York paper by Lieut. E. W. Sturdy, of the "Baltimore," stating that when the "San Francisco" sailed for Callao after the victory of the insurgents, President Balmaceda escaped in her. This statement was at once telegraphed back to Chili, and, as Captain Schley, of the "Baltimore" reported to the Navy Department, "caused much excitement and strong feeling against American citizens." Lieut. Sturdy's correspondence with the newspaper referred to was at once stopped and he was suspended from duty. No such punishment has yet been meted out to Lieut. Dyer though his offense was far graver than that of Lieut. Sturdy.

CONSUL MCCREERY'S SPECULATIONS.

Quite in keeping with the story of the scandalous conduct of both Minister Egan and Consul McCreery in the matter of their failure to observe a strict neutrality throughout the Chilian episode, comes the account of Consul McCreery's speculations in foreign exchange, not only at a time when Chili, as a friendly power, was engaged in a struggle to maintain her Constitution, but even while the little nation stood quaking under the angry threats of its big northern neighbor to "teach it a salutary lesson."

McCreery was a financier of more or less experience when appointed U. S. Consul. He had been for a number of years a prominent official in a small national bank at Flint, Mich, He was appointed Consul at the earnest solicitation of Senators Stockbridge and McMillan, of Michigan, and Representative Belknap, of the Fifth Michigan District. He had not been in Valparaiso long before he discovered that any one possessed of early information as to the operations of one or the other of the contending parties could turn that knowledge into cash at very slight risk. Foreign exchange, he observed, fluctuated in exact accordance with the fortunes of what Mr. Egan was pleased to style "the Government." A rumor of a Congressional victory always resulted in a depression of Chilian securities and the consequent advance of London exchange. Owing to his intimate relations with Minister Egan and the United States naval officers on the one hand, and, through Egan, with the Balmacedan authorities on the other, he was enabled to secure the earliest information of all important movements. Upon these "tips" McCreery speculated to an amount which, it is believed, exceeded two million pounds sterling. His operations were carried on through several Valparaiso brokers, the firm of Neckelmann & Isensee executing the most important of his commissions.

One of the gravest counts in these charges against McCreery connects him with the seizure of the insurgents' transport "Itata." It is alleged that, at a time when he had made several losses by reason of unwise investments, he learned of the appearance in San Diego harbor, Cal., of the "Itata," and at once took the most effective means at hand to prevent her sailing with arms for the Congressionalists. He went to the Intendente of Valparaiso, and after a consultation with the Balmacedan authorities, signed a despatch addressed to Secretary Blaine, and aimed at the seizure of the vessel by the United States Government. It is charged that Intendente Viel transmitted this despatch at his own expense, sending it to the State telegraph office in order to expedite its transmission and more certainly result in anticipating the "Itata." The news of the seizure of the transport by the United States marshal at San Diego was quickly transmitted to Valparaiso and was followed by a considerable decline in London exchange, of which McCreery doubtless took advantage.

The consular regulations expressly prohibit speculation or trading of any sort on the part of consuls receiving salaries in excess of a thousand dollars. McCreery's salary was $3,000 per annum, and he was perfectly familiar with the consular prohibition referred to. For nearly two years he reaped large profits from his ventures, but his abiding faith in the ultimate success of Balmaceda proved costly in the end. An unfortunate turn left him in debt to his brokers to the amount of $7,000 on a single transaction. This he promised to pay, but failed to do so. His brokers, doubtless expecting that he would speedily make good the loss, undertook another venture on his behalf, which netted a profit of $1,870. McCreery was promptly informed of the result of this transaction, and his brokers advised him that his account had been credited with the sum mentioned. This method of settling the matter, however, did not meet McCreery's approval; he wanted the cash. The brokers refusing to remit the consul addressed to them the following peremptory notice:

"VALPARAISO, February 11, 1892.

"Messrs. NECKELMANN & ISENSEE, Valparaiso:

"GENTS—I have your statement showing a balance due me January 30, 1892, of $1,870.16, and I desire to inform you that if the amount is not paid to me by 12 o'clock noon next Saturday (the 13th), legal steps will be taken to enforce collection of same.

"Very respectfully,

"WM. B. MCCREERY."

In spite of this threat, McCreery's brokers refused to pay, and it is needless to say that he did not bring suit. Certain public-spirited Americans in Chili, learning of McCreery's scandalous conduct, took pains to investigate his speculations and forwarded to the State Department the complete and unanswerable evidence of his guilt, including photographs of numerous checks drawn by his brokers to his credit and bearing his indorsement, and the bank's marks of cancellation. Photographs of his correspondence with his brokers, including the letter above quoted, were also filed in the Department. Acting Secretary Wharton gave out a statement to the press that these allegations which were brought to the attention of the Department by Hon. W. C. P. Breckenridge, Representative in Congress from Kentucky, would receive prompt attention, and would be made the subject of formal charges to be preferred against McCreery on his return to the United States, which was then daily expected. When McCreery did arrive early in August he presented himself at the State Department where he was cordially received and granted an extended leave of absence to visit his home in Michigan. He at once plunged into the campaign in the interest of the Republican party. Nothing has since been heard of the charges, and it is extremely improbable that the State Department will even take the trouble to call McCreery's attention to them.

THE "BALTIMORE" EPISODE.

Early in the summer of 1891 the Congressional party despatched a deputation to Washington, of which Mr. Pedro Montt, an accomplished gentleman and an experienced diplomat, was the head, and sought to secure through this agency recognition for the insurgents as belligerents. Though there now appears to have been no good renson why this recognition should have been denied them, the President, Secretary Blaine and the subordinate officials of the State Department declined to hold any communication whatever with the members of the deputation, and it was not until after the complete overthrow of Balmaceda and the surrender to the Congressionalists of the Government of Chili that Mr. Montt was received by Mr. Blaine. These facts naturally strengthened the impression in Chili that the attitude of the United States was anything but friendly toward those who had fought to preserve the Chilian Constitution.

Bearing in mind the incidents heretofore described, it is not difficult to understand why the Chilian people, particularly the lower classes living in the slums of large seaport towns, should have entertained unkind feelings toward the United States and her citizens. Minister Egan's conduct had made him especially obnoxious to the new government.

The officers and crews of the United States war vessels were the special object of Chilian enmity at this time; in their persons and in their uniform they represented a nation which the Congressionalists believed to be as hostile to them as the adherents of Balmaceda had been. Indeed, they were regarded as the allies of the overthrown dictator.

In this condition of affairs it behooved United States naval officers in Chilian ports to use the utmost discretion in granting shore liberty to members of their crews. In the face of this situation, which was, of course, well understood by all naval officers, Captain Schley, of the United States cruiser "Baltimore," allowed 150 sailors (who had been confined to their narrow quarters on shipboard for a long time), to go ashore in Valparaiso on the morning of October 16, hardly more than thirty days after the installation of the Congressionalists as the provisional rulers of Chili.

What occurred on the morning of October 16, was reported by Captain Schley in the following cablegram:

"While a party of men from the 'Baltimore' were ashore on liberty in Valparaiso yesterday afternoon, one of the boatswain's mates was killed and six men were seriously wounded. An inquiry is taking place and a full report will be sent when the circumstances are known."

Upon receipt of further details of the affair, Acting Secretary Wharton cabled Minister Egan peremptorily to bring to the attention of the Government of Chili the facts as reported by Captain Schley, and to "inquire whether there are any qualifying facts in the possession of that Government or any explanation to be offered of an event that has very deeply pained the people of the United States, not only by reason of the resulting death of one of our sailors and the pitiless wounding of others, but even more as an apparent expression of unfriendliness toward this Government, which might put in peril the maintenance of amicable relations between the two countries; if the facts are as reported by Captain Schley, this Government cannot doubt that the Government of Chili will offer prompt and full reparation."

In view of Minister Egan's strong bias it is not difficult to imagine the manner in which he "brought" these matters "to the attention of the Chilian Government," and inquired whether they had any explanation to offer, and told about the "deep pain" of the people of the United States, and enlarged upon the fight as an "expression of unfriendliness" which immediately put the amicable relations of the two countries in peril. It has been well said that common prudence, to say nothing of common decency, required that under these circumstances every word of the communication to the Chilian Government should have been carefully weighed and written in Washington, and that Egan should have been directed, as is usual among civilized nations in dealing with delicate international troubles, to "read this despatch to the Chilian Minister, and, if he desires it, leave him a copy of it."

The reply of the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs sheds some light upon the tone adopted by Egan in conveying the representations of the State Department. Minister Matta says that the United States Government "formulates demands and advances threats"; but there were no threats in the instructions to Egan. The question naturally arises: Where they made by Egan?

Minister Matta's reply was received with much indignation in the State and Navy Departments. Secretary Tracy's aides, with one accord, declared that the whole American Navy should be at once ordered into Chilian waters and that unless prompt reparation were made for the assault upon the sailors of the "Baltimore," Valparaiso should be bombarded. No less vigorous utterances were heard in the State Department, while President Harrison did not hesitate to state that the situation was "extremely grave."

The Chilians had taken a leaf out of Mr. Blaine's book in the New Orleans affair. The essential point in Mr. Blaine's despatch in reply to the representations of the Italian Government on the occasion of the mobbing of Italian subjects in New Orleans, and Minister Matta's reply to our demand for reparation, was that jurisdiction of crimes committed in one's territory belongs to one's courts, and that one cannot be hurried in making an investigation. It would appear that what was good law for the United States in the New Orleans affair was good law for Chili in the "Baltimore" incident.

President Harrison did not propose, however, to lose an opportunity to exploit the "vigorous foreign policy" of the Administration. Secretary Blaine had been resting at Bar Harbor for five months, leaving the State Department without its head for a period unprecedented in the history of the country. The "Baltimore" affair occurred while Mr. Blaine was *en route* to Washington, but it will be seen that the first representations made by this Government concerning the incident were signed by Acting Secretary Wharton. Thereafter, in spite of the presence of Mr. Blaine in Washington, it was the President's hand that guided the course of this Government in the matter, and the country was treated to the remarkable spectacle of a quondam master of "jingo" tactics restraining the hand of a "conservative" President in the latter's effort to force war upon a crippled and prostrated nation, with a population less than that of a single New England State and absolutely without available resources.

Minister Matta's note, which may very possibly have been justified by the terms in which the repesentations of the United States were communicated to the Chilian Government by Minister Egan, is absolutely all there is in the correspondence on the subject of the "Baltimore" affair on the part of Chili to which the slightest exception could be taken by a fair-minded person. The published correspondence shows that even the hot-headed Minister Matta spoke of the Valparaiso outrage on October 27, as a "deplorable occurrence" and a "lamentable affair." Minister Egan assumed the responsibility of withholding these expressions in his despatch to the State Department. On December 11, Minister Montt referred to the "lamentable events at Valparaiso which his Government had deeply deplored." On December 19, in a communication to Mr. Blaine, he spoke of the "unfortunate occurrences," and added that "the undersigned doubts not that the spirit of justice which animates the Government of the United States and that of Chili will be duly satisfied," etc. The Judge of the Criminal Court having in charge the investigation of the "Baltimore" affair, in a note to the Intendente of Valparaiso, under date of October 22, referred to the "lamentable disorders," and availed himself of the opportunity to state, "in order that you in turn may inform the North American Admiral," that the investigation was on the point of terminating. Minister

Montt, again, in a note to Mr. Blaine under date of January 8, refers to the "lamentable occurrence of the 16th of October," and closes his communication with the following statement which Mr. Blaine would certainly have been justified in accepting as an ample apology for Chili's part in the "Baltimore" affair:

"I have also received special instructions to state to the Government of the United States that the Government of Chili has felt very sincere regret for the unfortunate events which occurred in Valparaiso on the 16th of October. * * * The fact that persons employed in the service of a friendly nation were concerned and the frank desires for American cordiality which my Government entertains have led it to cordially deplore the aforesaid disturbance and to do everything in its power toward the trial and punishment of the guilty parties."

While these friendly assurances were being given to the United States the Chilian courts were busy with an examination into the facts concerning the assault upon the sailors of the "Baltimore." Naturally some time was consumed in these investigations; though there is evidence to show that many formalities were curtailed for the purpose of arriving at an early finding of fact.

While these proceedings were in progress Minister Egan was adding greatly to the feeling of irritation on the part of Chilians by his course regarding the refugees who had been granted asylum in the United States Legation at Santiago. The shelter afforded to these persons was of very doubtful propriety and was in pursuance of a precedent which the State Department has always condemned. But even if Egan was justified in extending asylum to political offenders at a time when the chaotic condition of affairs following immediately upon the victory of the insurgents seemed to warrant it, there was no excuse for converting a foreign legation into a permanent refuge for political criminals. Forcible comment was made upon this point, at the time, by an influential journal, to this effect:

"Chili has not lost her rank as a sovereign and independent State, through Balmaceda's attempt, any more than the United States lost theirs through the attempt of Jefferson Davis, and we should certainly have taken in very bad part the continued use for months after the conflict was over of the British Legation at Washington to shelter him and other leading Confederates from the pursuit of our constituted authorities."

The question in regard to these refugees was much complicated by Egan's contention that he must have a safe conduct for them in order to enable them to leave the country. The journal above quoted in discussing this phase of the case made this pertinent comment:

"This is probably the most curious of all the demands we have made on the 'sister republic.' It might be a perfectly proper demand to make on the Chinese, or Turks, or Morroccans, but it is a very odd condition for one civilized, law-governed republic to seek to impose upon another. The Chilian answer is perfectly simple and impregnable. They are willing, for the sake of peace and quiet, to put up with a slightly veiled insult of making the American Legation an asylum for fugitives from their justice, but they cannot grant a safe conduct to these fugitives, because there is no officer of the Chilian Govern-

ment, any more than of the American Government, authorized to grant it, under the Chilian Constitution, to citizens charged with indictable offenses. Fancy President Harrison or Governor Hill giving such persons a license to run away from the Union or the State of New York, so as to avoid trial. What the Chilian Government can promise to these refugees, and does promise, is a fair trial according to the law of the land."

It is not surprising, in view of the feeling against Minister Egan in Santiago, that the refugees in the United States Legation should have been subjected to annoyance and insults at the hands of irresponsible persons who passed by or gathered in the vicinity to jeer at Balmaceda's leaders in their enforced retirement. Minister Egan would doubtless have been glad to get rid of his boarders, but the Chilian authorities steadfastly refused to grant safe conduct to the refugees. Finally, in defiance of diplomatic usage, Egan himself accompanied the refugees to Valparaiso, and put them on board a United States war vessel, by which they were conveyed to Callao, Peru. Egan, of course, assumed that the Chilian authorities would forbear to molest the refugees while in his company. His expectation was fully justified by the dignified and altogether commendable course of the Chilians in permitting the refugees to depart under the sheltering wing of the American Minister, leaving it for the public opinion of civilized nations to decide which power had come out of the controversy with the greater credit.

In spite of the annoyance which the Chilian Government felt at the conduct of Minister Egan, the investigation into the "Baltimore" affair proceeded rapidly, and, as has been seen, on January 8, Minister Montt informed Mr. Blaine that Chili felt a very sincere regret for the unfortunate events. President Harrison had in the meantime, in the course of his annual message to Congress, added fuel to the flame by passing severe strictures upon the Chilian Government for its delay in complying with the demand of the United States for reparation. Naturally, these utterances were not received by Chili in a friendly spirit. Indeed, they evoked a reply comprising a defense of Chili's attitude throughout the "Baltimore" affair. This was made the subject of a circular which was published widely by the diplomatic representatives of Chili in South America and elsewhere. It is doubtful whether, if this action had been taken by a first-class power, the United States would have deemed it necessary to demand a public withdrawal of this circular. Yet such a course was taken by President Harrison, and Minister Egan, on his own responsibility, suspended relations with the Chilian Government. That he did so without authority from the State Department is clear from the following extract from a despatch to Mr. Blaine dated December 14, 1891:

"As it [Chili's defense] is not only injurious to the officers of the United States Navy and to this Legation, but offensive to the Secretary of the Navy and to the President himself, I feel that I should, until the language of the telegram be withdrawn, or until I may receive your further instructions, avoid exchanging communications with this Government."

The published correspondence does not show that Mr. Egan's course was either approved or criticized by Mr. Blaine. In this connection it would be interesting to know just how much of the correspondence between the State

Department and Minister Egan has been withheld from Congress on the ground that its publication would be "incompatible with the public interest."

HARRISON'S "JUST-IN-TIME" MESSAGE.

The closing chapter in the story of the "Baltimore" episode must be read by every American with a feeling of shame that the Chief Executive of this great republic could have been induced for the furtherance of his own political ambition to resort to such measures for the humiliation of a weak and almost defenceless neighboring power.

President Harrison and his advisers were fully informed as to the difficulties in the way of overcoming popular prejudice with which the new Government of Chili was laboring in the effort to bring about a satisfactory termination of the controversy. President Montt's friendly attitude had been demonstrated in a hundred different ways and there was no possible doubt as to the outcome of the incident. Secretary Blaine was confident that the affair would be amicably settled within a few days, and in justice to him it should be said he took no part in urging upon the President the necessity for immediate action.

In this situation of affairs, the President, on January 21, forwarded to the Chilian Government through Minister Egan his famous "ultimatum," in which he declared that unless the offensive parts of the despatch of December 11, embracing Chili's defense of her attitude, were not "at once withdrawn and a suitable apology offered," he would have no other course open to him "except to terminate diplomatic relations with the Government of Chili." Various other vague threats were conveyed in this document, which was cabled entire to Minister Egan, with instructions to "furnish to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a full copy of this note." Minister Egan did not deliver the ultimatum at the Foreign Office in Santiago until the 23d. Answer was at once made asking for two days' delay in replying—*i. e.*, until Monday—as President Montt was absent in the mountains.

President Harrison did not wait even for the Chilian authorities to read the ultimatum. He at once set to work upon an incendiary message to Congress, to be accompanied by such correspondence as he saw fit to make public at the time. The message has been well described as "an Indianapolis brief in a suit for damages, rather than a diplomatic state paper." It was studiously insulting to the Chilians from first to last. It insisted that the attack on the sailors of the "Baltimore," was an expression of general Chilian hostility to the United States, in spite of the solemn disavowals of the Chilian Government. It treated the findings of the Chilian courts as unworthy of credit, and the assertions of the Chilian officials as unworthy of belief. It declared the President's conviction that the Chilian Government did not intend to take any steps toward making proper reparation for the assault upon the sailors and the insult to the American Flag.

This message was sent to Congress early Monday morning, just four days after the ultimatum had been dispatched to Minister Egan. It was read in both houses of Congress amid absolute silence, and was followed with the closest attention by Senators and Representatives and by thousands of citizens

who crowded the galleries, to learn from the President's own words the exact measure of the peril to the country's peace. When the reading had been concluded, both houses adjourned, in order to give time for proper consideration of the matter before taking action in compliance with the President's recommendations. In the hours that followed, leading men of both parties expressed their willingness to stand by the President in any measures necessary to preserve the honor of the Nation. The newspapers throughout the country the next morning printed the President's message in full and copious extracts from the correspondence. The situation was generally believed to be very grave.

Then came the crash. It became known that before noon of Monday a full and ample apology had been received from the Chilian Government, including an offer to leave the question of reparation to the Supreme Court of the United States; and, in addition, the shameful fact was made public that this communication had been received at the State Department even before the President's message was read in Congress. A semi-official explanation of the facts in connection with the receipt of the apology was made at the White House, and was to the effect that the message was received "too late to have a translation made" before the convening of Congress.

But these statements and other similar explanations subsequently offered deceived no one. The facts stood clearly revealed. In general public estimation, the President's action in deliberately suggesting to Congress the making war on a weak antagonist, without asking, up to the latest moment, whether an apology had been received, constituted a fitting close to a controversy carried on by the admisistration in such a manner as to place the United States in an unenviable attitude before the public opinion of the world.

DEMOCRACY AND THE PUBLIC LANDS.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAND OFFICE UNDER THE TWO PARTIES CONTRASTED.

LAND FORFEITURES AND LAND HOLDING BY ALIENS.

Three Commissioners of the General Land Office under this administration have seen fit, in their annual reports, to make violent partisan attacks upon the management of that office during the Cleveland administration. The charge is that the gross frauds in the taking up of public lands which Commissioner Sparks fought against were mare's nests, the invention of an imagination either diseased or distinctly hostile to the people of the Territories and the new States; that Commissioner Sparks' representation that frauds were widespread did a great injustice to the people of the Territories and the new States, and his efforts to stop the frauds and punish the perpetrators were a great injury to the enterprising pioneers.

The last time that these accusations against Commissioner Sparks and the Democratic administration were made was in the annual report which Mr. Carter made after he had resigned the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office in order to accept that of Chairman of the Republican National Committee. That the accusation brought by Commissioners Carter and Groff and Acting Commissioner Stone against the Democratic administration of the land office is entirely untrue is shown by the following three facts: The evidence of the frauds was collected by Republican special agents, and commented on in the severest manner by a Republican commissioner, who said in his last report that he had again and again called the attention of Congress to them and asked Congress to give him the means of dealing with them. The suspension of patents was a temporary measure that only lasted six months and that injured only speculators and violators of the law; it could not harm the *bona fide* settlers. The settlement of the public domain proceeded more rapidly under the Cleveland administration than it ever did before or since.

A Transparently False Pretense.

The charge of three Commissioners of the Land Office under Mr. Harrison is that Mr. Sparks' interference with land frauds, or what he believed to be land frauds, was in effect a course of hostility to the pioneers and prospectors, and was a damage to the new States and the Territories. The people of this section of the country are invited to vote for Mr. Harrison on the ground that he has been friendly to them while Mr. Cleveland was their enemy. To see whether this be true or not, look at the official statistics. That is what Mr. Carter pretends that

he wants people to do. He gives in his annual report a comparative statement of the number of patents issued under this and under the last administration. But the activity of the real estate market is shown by the number and amount of sales and not by the rapidity with which deeds are recorded. Mr. Carter is careful not to invite a comparison of the disposals of public lands under this and the previous administration, because he knows perfectly well, what he did not care to tell the public, that a great deal more public land was disposed of under Mr. Cleveland than under Mr. Harrison.

The aggregate amount of the public lands disposed of in the four years 1885-8, both included, was 90,702,863 acres. The amount disposed of in the four years 1889-92, both included, was 54,083,988 acres. This shows that 67.7 per cent. more land was disposed of under the "hostile" Mr. Cleveland than under the "friendly" Mr. Harrison. The amount of public land taken up under Mr. Cleveland was greater by more than two-thirds than the amount taken up under Mr. Harrison. Does this look as if President Cleveland, Secretary Lamar, Secretary Vilas, and Commissioners Sparks and Stockslager had pursued a policy of hostility to the settlers on the public lands? And yet this comparison is much more favorable to the present administration than the facts warrant. In order to make a comparison between four-year periods, this table began with the fiscal year 1885, two-thirds of which was gone when the Cleveland Administration came in, and it credits the present administration with the whole of 1889, when two-thirds of it belongs to the previous administration. To make a comparison that will be entirely fair, and that will show the results of each administration after it had been in office long enough to get its own system into full operation, take three-year periods. The three years 1886-7-8 were wholly in the Cleveland administration and the three years 1890-1-2 were wholly in the Harrison Administration. In the three Cleveland years the public lands disposed of amounted to 70,589,200 acres; in the three Harrison years they amounted to 36,940,556 acres; disposals in a Democratic Administration in excess of disposals in a Republican Administration, 33,648,644 acres, or very nearly one hundred per cent.

Take one item in the disposals of public lands, the item of the greatest importance to the community, the disposal of lands under the Homestead Law. Mr. Sparks is accused of doing great injustice and material injury to the homesteaders and of retarding their settlement of the new country. In the three Cleveland years above indicated the homestead takings aggregated 23,416,100 acres, and in the three Harrison years only 18,288,133 acres. The order issued by Mr. Sparks, April 3, 1885, suspending the issue of patents except in the case of cash sales, has been bitterly denounced as an act of great wrong to the settlers. This order was in force for three months of 1885 and three months of 1886. There were taken up under the Homestead Act in 1884, 7,831,501 acres; in 1885, 7,415,885, and in 1886, 9,145,135 acres, the greatest amount ever disposed of in any one year, and a million and a half acres more than disposed of in any year of the present administration, and nearly double the amount disposed of in 1890.

The efforts of Mr. Sparks to prevent and punish thefts of the public domain by speculators, and great corporations, and to save the public domain for the real tillers of the soil, were devoted largely to the prevention of frauds

under the Timber Culture Law. How little the efforts of the Democratic Administration to protect the rights of the people, and especially working people, against speculators and great railroad, cattle and mining corporations, retarded the real development of the West is shown by the fact that the timber culture entries aggregated 4,084,463 acres in 1884, wholly before the Cleveland Administration, 4,755,005 in 1885, of which eight months was under Arthur and four months under Cleveland, and 5,391,309 in 1886, the first full year under Mr. Cleveland.

In view of these figures, it is hardly necessary to say anything more about the falsity of the charges made by the three Republican Commissioners of the Land Office against the Democratic management of that office. But there are some explanations it may be well enough to make.

The order of Mr. Sparks, of April 3, 1885, suspending the issue of patents until there could be a fuller investigation of the cases where there were evidences of fraud, could not hurt the real settlers who had complied in good faith with the law. As against all other claimants they were absolutely secure, and as against the Government their consciences could tell them whether they were secure or not. It is a very common thing for settlers to leave their patents uncalled for in the Land Office for many, many years. Where the settler needed to borrow, it was a convenience to have a patent, but it was not a necessity; local capitalists who knew whether the applicant for a loan was a *bona fida* settler within the meaning of the land laws, loaned without the security of a patent. The foreign corporation that had no means of knowing whether the borrower was a real settler or a speculator, insisted on a patent. When a man sold he needed a patent, but the number of *bona fida* settlers who wanted to sell immediately after they had acquired patents under the homestead act is exceedingly small.

But the order made it impossible for men who had not complied with the land laws to borrow money. It made it impossible for speculators, who had taken up land merely to sell and who never had complied with the conditions of the homestead act, to realize on their speculations. It threatened money-lenders who had been advancing money to men who were not complying with the law, and could never get a patent if they were to be investigated, with the loss of their security. These are the people and the only people the Democratic policy hurt; the work of taking up public lands by real settlers and building up the country went on under the Democratic Admistration as never before or since.

Republican Testimony to Land Frauds.

The frauds on the public lands were not Democratic inventions. The order of April 3, 1885, was made before Mr. Sparks had been two weeks in office, before any Democratic special agents were appointed, and when all the information Mr. Sparks possessed was that which had been collected by the Republican special agents and reported to Congress by the Republican Commissioner, Mr. McFarland. The following are a few very much condensed quotations from Commissioner McFarland's annual report of 1884:

"The great abuses flowing from the illegal acquisition of land titles by fictitious pre-emption entries and the exactions made upon *bona fida* settlers,

who are often obliged to buy off such claims in order to get access to public lands, render the repeal [of the pre-emption law] in my judgment a matter of necessity. Pre-emption claims are filed when no intention of perfecting entries exists, but the alleged claim is held for speculation or as a cover for denuding the land of its timber. The average proportion of filings to entries is less than one-half. In case of entries actually made it is found that the most valuable timber lands and large areas of agricultural and grazing lands are entered in fictitious names by persons employed for the purpose. . . . The alleged commutation settler is frequently a person employed at so much a month to sign entry papers and hold the claim long enough to enable his employer to secure title by commutation. . . . When a new township is surveyed large portions of the land are at once covered with filings and entries, relinquishments of which are then offered for sale like stocks in the market. . . It is found that lands taken up under this [desert land] act, are often used for stock grazing, and that possession by single persons and corporations over quantities of land is obtained by collusive entries. . . . The restrictions and limitations of the [timber culture] act are flagrantly violated. Information is in my possession that much of the most valuable timber land remaining in the possession of the Government on the Pacific coast is being taken up by home and foreign companies and capitalists, through the medium of persons hired for that purpose. I have found it necessary *to suspend all entries of this class*, and direct an investigation in the field. . . . The result of the operation of the act is the transfer of the title of the United States in timber lands practically in bulk to a few large operators. . . . If it be the legislative purpose to adhere to the policy of preserving the remaining public lands for actual settlers, and to prevent the acquisition of great bodies of land in fraud of law by single individuals and corporations, American or foreign, sufficient means should be placed at the command of the Land Department to prevent *the vast and widespread violations of law* which have been brought to the knowledge of this Department and the notice of Congress. I have discharged my own duty in presenting this subject as I have from time to time in my annual reports and in special reports submitted to Congress as clearly and forcibly as I could, and I leave to the higher power of that body the responsibility of determining the course to be pursued."

There is a good deal more like that in Mr. McFarland's report, and accompanying it are pages and pages of extracts from the reports of special agents disclosing the frauds they had unearthed. It was in partial recognition of and remedy for these frauds, that no one ever denied except the parties interested and the three men President Harrison has successively put in charge of the Land Office, that a Republican Congress repealed the timber-culture law and made a number of amendments in the other land laws.

When this Administration came in, prosecutions and civil suits for more than a million dollars were pending against the Montana Improvement Company for cutting timber off the public lands. In April, 1889, Secretary Noble directed the suspension of the prosecutions and recalled to Washington the special agent, a Republican retained by Mr. Sparks on account of his efficiency, who had worked up the evidence against the Montana Improvement Company. Of course Mr. Hailey could be of no use to the Government and no damage to

the Montana Improvement Company while he was kept at the national capital. Most of the civil suits were dismissed while Mr. Carter, of Montana, was Commissioner of the Land Office. A set of men under the leadership of John Benson had defrauded the Government out of a good deal of money on surveying contracts, and were detected trying to defraud it out of a good deal more by getting the pay and not doing the work. The field books were written up by the aid of a gifted imagination in the office in San Francisco. The Cleveland Administration collected evidence against this gang, brought Benson back from Denmark whither he had fled, and were about ready to bring the criminal suits to trial when the Administration changed. Secretary Noble dismissed Conrad, the special agent who had collected the evidence against Benson, at the demand of Senator Stewart of Nevada, who was Benson's attorney. The cases have not yet, August, 1892, come to trial, but it is said at the Department of Justice that they will be tried this fall.

The Oklahoma scandal occurred the month after this Administration came into power. The two special agents of the Interior Department who were present at Guthrie to see that the laws were enforced were Mr. Cornelius McBride of St. Louis, and Mr. Pickler, now a member of Congress from South Dakota. Mr. McBride was energetic in the collection of evidence against the guilty land officers, deputy marshals and the so-called "sooners," who got into the territory before the hour named in the President's proclamation. His report was particularly severe on a brother of Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. When the first of July came around and one of the two special agents had to be dropped, it was McBride and not Pickler who went. Pickler soon after resigned to accept a nomination for Congress, but McBride was not reappointed. John Dille, the Register of the Land Office, who was shown by the reports of the special agents to have been in collusion with the "sooners," was never disturbed in his place. In 1889 a special agent of the Land Office named Stevens reported that a railroad company and a mining company in South Dakota were committing depredations on the public timber. Senator Moody of South Dakota was the president of the railroad company and the attorney of the mining company, and Stevens was dismissed. It is not strange that this Administration has discovered very few frauds and has issued land patents with a rapidity never before equalled.

Land Forfeitures.

Of all the advantages enjoyed by the American people, the facility with which they have been able to get lands of their own is inestimably the greatest, and to that facility, more than to all else combined, do they owe their prosperity. To this prosperity the public lands have contributed a portion which may, in some degree, be appreciated by a consideration of the rapidity with which the Western States and Territories have grown in population. Heretofore those lands have afforded to the older communities that immunity from distress, with its consequent agitations, which always results from over-population, and from which, in more recent years, since the occupation of nearly all the available public domain, those commmunities have not been entirely free.

Contemplating the advantages of cheap homes for the people, the momentous import of the truth stated in the Democratic platform, that "the Repub-

lican party, while professing a policy of preserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas" may be fully realized; and when it is known what the Democratic party has done, and is trying to do, to restore a part of this vast empire to the public domain, the importance of its purpose and efforts becomes extremely impressive.

The public domain of the United States originally consisted of:

Cession from original States	229,987,187 acres.
Louisiana purchase (1843)	756,961,280 "
Florida (1819)	37,931,280 "
Mexican treaty (1848)	334,443.520 "
Purchase from Texas (1851)	61,892,480 "
Gadsden purchase (1853)	29,142,400 "
Alaska (1867)	369,529,600 "
Total	1,819,889,987 acres.

Every inch of this territory, except Alaska, for which we paid $7,200,000, was acquired before the Republican party came into existence, and all except the purchase from Texas, due to the Democratic and Whig parties, and Alaska, a Republican acquisition, was annexed by the Democratic party.

While the Democratic party has added this magnificent empire to our territory, it has never given a foot of it directly to any private corporation. It gave some of it to the States in trust, and the States gave it to the railroads upon various terms and conditions; the State of Illinois, for instance, requiring of the Illinois Central Company the payment to the State of seven per cent. of the annual gross earnings of its road. This company received 3,751,010 acres of land, and it has paid to the State about $13,136,000, the amount paid last year being $538,000. The grant was made in 1852.

The Republicans, as soon as they got into power, began to give away the public lands. The first act was passed July 1, 1862, granting directly to the Union Pacific Railroad Company the odd-numbered sections within ten miles on each side of its proposed line, and in 1864 this was extended to 20 miles, making a strip 40 miles wide, from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean.

This table shows the grants made by the Republican party in 14 years, and all grants previously made by all other parties:

Total to railroads	163,643,944.83 acres.
To States for railroad purposes	19,240,883.80 "
To States for wagon roads	2,530,379.84 "
Total, 14 years	185,414,208.47 acres.
March 4, 1789, to March 4, 1861, 72 years, to States for rail and wagon roads	29,824,033.37 "
Excess in 14 years	155,591,155.10 acres.

The 14 years are from March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1875, when a Democratic House was elected. Since that time no grants have been made.

These grants of lands were on the condition that the roads should be built within specified times. In so far as the conditions of the grants were complied with, there could be no proper demand for the forfeiture of any of the land,

whatever may be thought as to the propriety of giving such an area to private corporations when the grants were made; but it is an astounding fact that, until the 48th Congress, which was Democratic, not an acre of land was forfeited because of non-compliance with conditions, or for any other cause. January 18, 1869, Hon. William S. Holman, Democrat, of Indiana, introduced the following resolution in the House of Representatives:

"That grants of public lands to corporations ought to be discontinued; and the whole of such lands ought to be held as a sacred trust to secure homesteads to actual settlers, and for no other purpose whatever."

Mr. Washburn, Republican, from Indiana, moved to lay this on the table, and the Democratic membership being insignificant in number, the resolution went on the table; many of the Republican leaders of to-day and others now dead voting to place it there.

But when the 48th Congress came in, the House being Democratic, the Committee on Public Lands recommended the restoration of this vast domain to the people for homes, and that Congress began what, with the further work of the two next succeeding Democratic Congresses and the Democratic President, resulted in the forfeiture of nearly all the land that was unearned and then forfeitable by reason of the entire failure of the companies to build the roads.

Here is a table showing the lands forfeited through the efforts of the Democratic Houses in the 48th, 49th and 50th Congresses.

NAME OF ROAD.	Congress.	Acres.
Oregon Central	48th	810,880
Texas Pacific	"	18,500,000
Iron Mountain and Missouri	"	300,000
Atlantic and Pacific	49th	23,871,360
Tuscaloosa and Mobile	"	7,000,000
Mobile and New Orleans	"	
Elyton and Beard's Bluff	"	
Memphis and Charleston	"	
Savannah and Albany	"	
New Orleans and State Line	"	
Iron Mountain and Arkansas	"	
Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon	50th	294,400
Ontonagon and Brule River	"	211,200
Total		*50,987,840

*This is a territory nearly as large as the State of Kansas.

In his first annual report, in 1885, the Hon. Wm. A. J. Sparks, the Democratic Commissioner of the General Land Office, had made this recommendation:

I respectfully recommend that forfeiture be declared in all cases in which the roads were not completed in the manner and within the time prescribed by law, and that the unpatented lands be restored to the public domain.

This was what the Democratic party had always insisted should be done; so in the 50th Congress a bill was introduced in the House to forfeit all lands adjacent to and along lines of road that had not been built at all and all lands adjacent to and along lines that had not been built within the time limited in the grants. In the Republican Senate a bill was introduced to forfeit only

those lands along roads that should not have been constructed at the time of the bill's becoming a law. The latter bill got through the Senate before the former could pass the House; but the House amended it by inserting a provision for the forfeiture of all lands unearned according to the conditions of the grants.

The Republican Senate refused to concur in this amendment and a conference was ordered.

The conference could not agree; the Senate, representing the railroads, and the House, representing the people, adhered to their respective propositions, and the 50th Congress adjourned without action, to be succeeded by the 51st Congress, Republican in both branches.

That Congress framed the act of September 29, 1890, forfeiting only the lands opposite to and coterminous with the portions of the roads which had not been completed at that date. These lands, consisting in the main of desert, waste and mountainous tracts which the companies had abandoned, embraced only 5,627,436 acres.

The present House of Representatives passed, July 8, 1892, House Bill 8390, to forfeit all the lands opposite to and coterminous with the portions of the roads not completed within the times limited in the grants for the completion of the whole roads; and the effect of this would be to add to the public domain 54,323,996 acres.

This bill lies unconsidered in the Republican Senate, and, as it is framed in conformity with the Democratic theory and in violation of the Republican theory concerning the rights of subsidized railroads, it has gone to the tomb of the Capulets, where its predecessor rests.

This table shows the practical difference between the two theories:

Name of Railroad.	Estimated number of Acres forfeited.	
	By Act of Sept. 29, 1890.	By House bill 8390.
Gulf and Ship Island	652,800	652,800
Coosa and Tennessee	140,160	140,160
Coosa and Chattooga	144,000	144,000
Mobile and Girard	536,064	651,264
Selma, Rome and Dalton*	89,932	258,624
Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit	76,800	676,0 0
Pensacola and Georgia	None	679,680
Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas	None	364,800
Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw	None	176,256
Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon	294,400	294,400
Ontonagon and Brule River	211,200	288,000
LaCrosse and Milwaukee	None	195,724
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha	None	1,446,400
Wisconsin Central	406,880	464,4??
St. Vincent extension, St. Paul and Pacific (now St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba)	None	1,113,600
Western Railroad	None	243,712
Southern Minnesota Railway extension	None	882,115
Hastings and Dakota	None	819,840
Northern Pacific	2,000,000	36,907,741
California and Oregon	None	1,740,800
Oregon and California	None	2,086,400
Southern Pacific	1,075,200	4,147,200
Total	5,627,436	54,323,996

That difference is 48,696,560 acres, or homes for 304,354 families.

The following shows the area of land actually restored to the public domain by the Democratic administration, exclusive of forfeiture bills:

	Acreage.
Lands in granted railroad lands restored	2,108,417
Railroad indemnity lands restored	21,323,600
Private lands claims; withdrawn lands restored	576,000
Entries under pre-emption, homestead, timber culture, desert, mineral and timber-land laws cancelled in regular course of examination and proceedings in General Land Office for abandonment, illegality, and other causes	27,460,608
Invalid States elections restored to United States	968,447
Total actually restored to the public domain and opened to entry and settlement by the Executive department	52,437,373

So we have the following results of Democratic efforts, exclusive of the forfeitures attempted by this Congress:

	Acres.
Forfeited by Congress	50,982,240
Restored by Executive orders	52,437,373
Total added to public domain	103,420,613

Though the companies have, in most cases, manifested a disposition to remain idle, awaiting the growth of the country along the proposed lines of the roads, and to hold the lands for speculative purposes only, the Republicans, with a few notable exceptions, have resisted the forfeitures at every stage; and about the only plausible argument that has been made against the bill which passed this House is, that the law of September 29, 1890, is a confirmation of the titles to all the lands not forfeited by it. This is unquestionably the effect that many of its supporters wished and expected the law to have.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the Democratic party, through its Houses of Representatives and Administration, has restored to the "heritage of the people" homes of 160 acres each for nearly 650,000 families; and if all the recommendations and attempts made by these Houses and the Administration could have been prosecuted to their successful close, the result would have been homes for, in round numbers, 1,000,000 familes, even upon the liberal American allowance of a quarter section of land to the family; and this would have been equal to the territory of Germany and Switzerland, with a population of 52,500,000 souls, or more than twice as large as England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, composing the kingdom of Great Britain, with a population of more than 38,000,000 souls, while the Republican law can result in restoring only a little more than 5,600,000 acres, but a small proportion of which is valuable.

Though up to June 30, 1891, there had been certified and patented to the railroad companies only 54,465,250 acres, there were then pending selections of 28,846,577 acres more, and the companies have disposed of millions of acres to which they have no patents. From the lands disposed of they have realized hundreds of millions of dollars, the exact amount not being ascertainable for the reason that all the companies have not reported the proceeds; but enough is known to show that in many cases the lands already disposed of have paid the companies many millions of dollars more than the total cost of their roads,

while the lands still retained by them are worth millions upon millions more. Great portions of the lands have been sold for from $25 to $50 per acre, and perhaps for higher prices.

But the Democratic party has not only restored this imperial domain to the people, it has stopped, so far as it could, the growth in this country of European feudalism.

ALIEN LANDLORDISM.

It has become quite a fad during Republican sway for English lords to acquire real estate in America and to establish in this country a sort of British province with all the accessories of British landlordism.

Here is a partial list of the holdings of our alien landlords, for which they are indebted to the Republican party:

	Acres.
An English syndicate, No. 3, in Texas	3,000,000
The Holland Company, New Mexico	4,500,000
Sir Edward Reid and a syndicate, in Florida	2,000,000
English syndicate in Mississippi	1,000,000
Marquis of Tweedale	1,750,000
Phillips, Marshall & Co., of London	1,300,000
German syndicate	1,100,000
Anglo-American syndicate, Mr. Rogers, President, London	750,000
Bryan H. Evans, of London, Mississippi	700,000
Duke of Sutherland	425,000
British Land Company, in Kansas	320,000
William Walley, M. P., Peterboro, England	310,000
Missouri Land Company, Edinburgh, Scotland	300,000
Robert Tennant, of London	280,000
Dundee Land Company, Scotland	247,000
Lord Dundore	120,000
Benjamin Newgas, Liverpool	100,000
Lord Houghton, in Florida	60,000
Lord Dunraven, in Colorado	60,000
English Land Company, in Florida	50,000
English Land Company, in Arkansas	50,000
Albert Peel, M. P., Leicestershire, England	10,000
Sir J. M. Ray, Yorkshire, England	5,000
Alexander Grant, London, in Kansas	35,000
English syndicate (represented by Close Bros.), Wisconsin	110,000
M. Ellerhauser, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in West Virginia	600,000
A Scotch syndicate, in Florida	50,000
Missouri Land Company, of Edinburgh, Scotland	165,000
Total	20,747,000

This is by no means a full list, but it is sufficiently startling, as there are but twelve of the twenty-eight that do not exceed in area the largest land holding in England, to the landlordism of which country we are accustomed to refer with horror. Looking upon this great and growing evil with a dread of its future possibilities, the Democrats in the 49th Congress succeeded in enacting a law to prevent alien acquisition of land titles in the territories and in the District of Columbia, and this statute is chapter 340, Statutes at Large, 49th Congress. Surely, the Democratic party has guarded and preserved the heritage of the people, and if it had done nothing else, its services in this regard would entitle it to the people's confidence.

CLEVELAND AND PENSIONS.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S VETOES OF PRIVATE PENSION BILLS.

A WHOLESOME PROTEST AGAINST HASTY SPECIAL LEGISLATION.

During President Cleveland's administration an average of 52,000 original pension claims per year were allowed under the general laws through the Pension Bureau. There are now on the pension rolls 876,604 names. A branch of the subject, separate and apart from the main current of legislation and administration is that of private pension bills or special act pensions. No subject of current discussion has been so perversely misrepresented as this, and non is so generally misunderstood.

It must be premised that Congress and the President have nothing whatever to do with the regular daily allowance of pensions under the general laws. The pension claims which are considered by Congress are those which have been rejected by the Pension Bureau. It is the usual practice of Congressional Committees not to consider the bills for relief of claimants until they have tried and failed to obtain a pension under the general laws. And as the provisions of the general laws are very liberal, it follows, of course, that the great majority of claims which are rejected by the Pension Bureau are wholly devoid of merit. and as it is these rejected claims which seek relief through Congress, the presumption is necessarily that few of the private bills are entitled to favorable consideration. There are of course certain cases, as every one admits, which present equitable features, but which cannot be pensioned under the general laws, and these it is in the province of Congress to relieve by special act. Unfortunately, however, the bills for private pensions introduced in Congress are not confined to this class, but include every kind of claim imaginable, —meritorious, worthless or absurd. In fact, they include nearly every claim that any man, woman or child takes a notion to request a Congressman to present.

This is a broad assertion, but it is most lamentably true, and the fact is known to every one who has anything to do with this class of legislation, but is seemingly very little known to the people at large. It is with these cases only that the President has any direct connection, and when he vetoes a private pension bill, it is a bill for the benefit of one person only, who has been clearly shown to have no rights under the general laws and who has in some way had his cause espoused by a member of Congress, and thus sought to secure the overriding of the decision of the Interior Department whether wrong or right. The veto of a private pension bill has nothing to do with the operations of the Pension Bureau; it is a matter apart.

There were on the pension rolls of 1885, 345,125 pensioners, and yet, in the Congress immediately following there were introduced private pension bills to the number of near seven thousand. In 1887 there were on the rolls 406,007 pensioners, and yet in the Fiftieth Congress immediately following were introduced more than six thousand bills. In 1889, the number on the rolls had grown to 489,725, and still the Fifty-first Congress was asked to consider 6,499 private pension bills. Were these all cases inherently meritorious but presenting some technical peculiarity which prevented the allowance of pension in the regular way? Of course not. They were introduced by the members of Congress, in many instances, simply because somebody asked them to, and they did not like to refuse; this is the simple truth of it, and most of the members will admit it to be a correct general statement.

But not all special pension bills are without merit; a few are quite the contrary. About how many, then, possess some claim to favorable consideration? Well, the Forty-ninth Congress enacted into laws, with the approval, actual or implied, of President Cleveland, 798 of the near 7,000 bills they had to consider, and in the Fiftieth Congress 1,027 out of the more than 6,000, making a total of 1,825, in four years, approved by President Cleveland —more than half as many as all the private pension bills approved by all the Presidents from Washington to Arthur, inclusive; for, be it known, that in the one hundred years, from the first Congress to the close of the Fiftieth Congress, just 5,203 private pensions were granted, and of these President Cleveland approved 1,825, which was 259 more than were approved by all the Presidents from Grant to Arthur, both inclusive, and only 216 less than all approved from 1861 to 1885 by Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur combined. These are facts you have not often heard, but they are facts nevertheless. What you hear always is that Cleveland vetoed so many pension bills. He did; he vetoed exactly 250 private pension bills in the four years of his administration, and at the same time he approved either actively or silently, 1,825, and if any one asserts that he believes Mr. Cleveland vetoed any one of those 250 bills for other than conscientious reasons, he either speaks falsely or shows himself wofully ignorant of the true character of the ex-President. There are few subjects about which so many positive misstatements and so many unfair implications have been made as this one of Cleveland's vetoes. No friend of Mr. Cleveland's has any cause to deny the facts nor to apologize for any one of these vetoes. But why, if he vetoed 250 private pension bills, and if to veto even one was wrong, is it necessary to falsify the number and place it at from 500 to 800, as is frequently done? The unswerv

ing tendency of his opponents to be unfair in this matter, even when strictly truthful, is shown in the case of a recent writer in the *Congressional Record* —the remarks were never spoken in the House. He states the number of vetoes at 250, which is correct; he adds that Cleveland put 47 other bills in his pocket and thus prevented their becoming laws by the adjournment of Congress, and that he allowed 227 other bills to become laws after the expiration of ten days, without his signature, because 'presumably he had not the nerve to veto them."

Now, is there any kind of fairness in this statement? Does not every one know that the only way in which the bills could fail for want of the President's signature was by the adjournment of Congress so soon after passing them that he had not time to consider them, and that if they, being passed during the last hours of the Congress, thus failed to become laws, Congress and not the President is to blame, for he did not cause them to be withheld until the last moment, neither did he compel Congress to adjourn. And the 227 which he did not sign became laws just as valid without his signature as if he had signed them; this is the custom with all Presidents when they have not the time to fully consider certain matters within the allotted ten day's limit. This is probably the first time Grover Cleveland ever was charged with not having "the nerve" to do what he believed right. On the contrary, his firmness and moral courage in the face of interested calumny are proverbial; he had the nerve to do right in 250 instances where there was a moral certainty that his course would be wantonly misrepresented and his motives misconstrued. But the writer referred to need not have "presumed" anything about it. In his first pension veto, May 8, 1886, in the case of Andrew J. Hill (see pages 83–5, the Public Papers of Grover Cleveland), he made this whole subject clear. This bill was vetoed for the very sufficient reason that it proposed to increase the pension of Andrew J Hill, while as a matter of fact the name of the person whom it was intended to benefit is Alfred J. Hill. This message should be read in full by every soldier in the land; there can be but two grounds for attacking the pension vetoes of President Cleveland—ignorance or blindest prejudice. Let us quote from the message referred to:

> "There have been presented to me on the same day, for approval, nearly 240 special bills, granting and increasing pensions and restoring to the pension list the names of parties which, for cause, have been dropped."

Think of it! At the first onslaught, in one day, he is called on to consider more private pension bills than ever passed one Congress in its entire two years, from 1789 to 1883, with the sole exception of the Fortieth Congress, when 292 private pension acts were passed.

Think of it! IN ONE DAY the Forty-ninth Congress proposes to set aside, overrule and make of no effect the careful, discriminate and liberal decisions and conclusions of the Pension Bureau, organized and fully equipped for the express purpose of determining just such questions. Does anyone believe that in these 240 cases, sent from Congress to the President in one day, the Pension Office decisions, framed and adhered to by liberal and able Pension Commissioners, all Republicans until 1885, were erroneous, and that Congress had, with one omniscient glance, seen in all the right which the Pension Commis-

sioner could not discover in one of these 240 cases? Of course not. Everyone who inquires at all knows that the great majority of these bills were passed by a handful of men in a Democratic House and a Republican Senate, for no reason on earth but the personal advantage of the beneficiary of each and its reflex advantage to the member who introduced it. Passed at the rate of, sometimes, one per minute, without any knowledge on the part of the members who voted for them, as to the nature or merits of each case, but voted for by each of the forty or fifty members present, with the sole thought that the sooner the antecedent bills were passed the sooner would be reached the bill in which he himself was interested and from which he hoped to gain some prestige among his constituents. This resulted in the passage of 2,122 bills through both Houses in the four years from 1885 to 1889, and their presentation to Mr. Cleveland in such a flood as no President before had even dreamed of as possible.

During Mr. Lincoln's four years from 1861 to 1865, just 44 such acts were passed; during President Johnson's four years, 431; during Grant's first term, 261, during his second term, 275, besides these, in his eight years, five other bills passed both Houses and by him were vetoed. During Hayes' four years, 324 private pension bills were enacted into laws, and during the four years of Garfield and Arthur, 706. Then, as we have shown, during the Cleveland administration the Houses of Congress passed 2,122 such bills, and against this shameless "division of the pork" no hand but Grover Cleveland's was raised in protest. Never before had a President been so tried, and never but once before, and that one General Grant, had a President reached the grandeur and summit of moral courage to be so scrupulously honest in small things as to veto a private pension bill which he believed was wrong, and which it was his sworn duty to examine *on its merits*. The writer in the *Congressional Record*, heretofore quoted, does General Grant a great injustice when he says "No Republican President ever rose to that sublime height of statesmanship * * no one has yet had the gall to veto a private pension bill." This writer, who is usually a reasonable and fair-minded man, is so saturated with the unreasoning prejudice that nearly always characterizes Republican comment on the pension question that he not only falls into the use of language of questionable elegance but into positive error of fact. General Grant vetoed 5 out of 541 which came to him, and President Cleveland vetoed 250 of his 2,122, in the face of certain criticism from the ignorant calumny from interested parties, and vitriolic sarcasm and misrepresentation from political opponents, and thus "rose to that sublime height of statesmanship" and conscientious devotion to the details of his duties which a future, if not the present, generation will know and understand.

But to return to the quotation from the message in the case of Andrew J. Hill, relative to the first installment of nearly 240 bills in a single day. "Though my conception of public duty leads me to the conclusion, upon the slight examination I have been able to give such of these bills as are not comprised in the first class above mentioned (81 bills which he had signed), that many of them should be disapproved, I am utterly unable to submit within the time allowed me for that purpose my objections to the same; they will therefore become a law without my approval." It seems, then, that he had the nerve to state his position on these bills, but did not have the superhuman

ability to carefully examine and determine the complex legal questions involved in 240 pension cases within the few hours left him by the Constitutional limitation after the case had been returned to him from the Pension Bureau.

But it is said that the President indulged in disrespectful—some say "brutal" language toward the Union soldiers as a class. No man can read the veto messages and substantiate that assertion. On the contrary, the messages abound in expressions of the greatest respect for the soldiers as a class, and the deepest interest in the welfare of all who have properly merited the bounty of the Government in the shape of pensions to invalids, widows and dependents.

"The disposition to concede the most generous treatment to the disabled, aged and needy among our veterans ought not to be restrained" (p. 83, State Papers of Grover Cleveland).

"I have not been insensible to the suggestions which should influence every citizen, either in private station or official place, to exhibit not only a just but a generous appreciation of the services of our country's defenders" (p. 110).

"Heedlessness and a disregard of the principle which underlies the granting of pensions are unfair to the wounded, crippled soldier who is honored in the just recognition of his Government" (p. 111).

"None of us are entitled to credit for extreme tenderness and consideration towards those who fought their country's battles; these are sentiments common to all good citizens. They lead to the most benevolent care on the part of the Government and deeds of charity and mercy in private life" (p. 140).

No one ever accused Grover Cleveland of double dealing or deception toward the public. Let him then be given credit for honesty and sincerity, for meaning exactly what he said in the sentences quoted. But in these pension cases he was dealing with matters of law under a constitutional obligation to approve only such bills as he believed to be lawful and inherently worthy, and as a consequence his messages contain some expressions not complimentary to the malingerer, the simulator of disabilities which do not exist, the deserter, and the man who by falsehood and perjury has sought to establish an unworthy claim. Does the grand army of valiant Union soldiers feel aggrieved at criticism of these? Not one word can be found in derogation of the soldiers as a class; nor aught but tenderness, regard and helpfulness toward them. By no analogy can deserving soldiers take offense at Cleveland's vetoes that would not lead the eleven Apostles to feel agrieved at harsh things said of Judas.

It has been called presumptuous in Mr. Cleveland to oppose his will and opinion to that of near four hundred Congressmen as expressed in the bills they passed. On the contrary, that is exactly his bounden duty when he thinks they have gone wrong, else why is the President's approval required in any case; and, again, to claim that the passage of these bills was any indication of the investigation and approval of both branches of Congress borders close upon absurdity. These bills were passed at night sessions held for that express purpose, and attended by only a handful of members, most of them interested parties, as heretofore suggested, and probably not ten men knew the facts as to any one bill for which they voted. But were not all these bills carefully considered and approved in the Committee on Pensions before they were voted on in the House? Let us see. The great majority of all these bills were (nominally) considered by the House Committee on Invalid Pensions. This Committee in the Forty-ninth Congress had 72 meetings, usually last-

ing from 10 o'clock A. M. until noon; they made 1,821 reports on private pension bills; assuming that every meeting was devoted to the consideration of private bills, this was an average of 25 reports for each session of 120 minutes or less than five minutes for each report, or allowing half the time (the usual rule) for general bills, the average is one private bill for every 2½ minutes.

The same Committee in the Fiftieth Congress held 74 meetings; half for general, and half for private, bills; they reported 1,352 private bills--an average of 36 for each meeting or one for every 3⅓ minutes. At one session of the Committee in the Forty-ninth Congress, 122 bills were reported; more than one per minute, and at one session in the Fiftieth, as high as 67. Does any one suppose that the fifteen members of the Committee carefully weighed and passed upon each case? Assuredly not. Each member of the Committee constituted a sub-committee on a certain number of bills. At each meeting of the Committee he presented such reports as he had prepared, or his clerk had prepared, or had been prepared and presented to him by the member most interested in the bill. These were presented to the Committee and approved *pro forma*, and as a matter of course. It is folly to suppose that the reports were as a rule read in the Committee, much less discussed by the members. Truly it was presumption in the President to question the accuracy of conclusions thus arrived! If no more than 250 unworthy cases managed to slip past Committee, House and Senate, it were indeed a wonder.

We are now, perhaps, prepared to admit that (1) some unworthy bills may have gone to the President; (2) he had a right, constitutional and moral, to veto such as his judgment could not approve; (3) in affixing his veto he did not act at random, but sought to discriminate between the good and bad.

Let us see then on what ground he based his 250 vetoes, and, if possible, whether in so doing he was right or wrong. Here are the reasons fully classified:

Of Invalid Claims, there were vetoed because—

The disability for which pension was claimed existed prior to enlistment	25
The origin in the service of the disability claimed was not shown	23
The examining surgeons' reports showed that the claimant had no disability from the cause claimed	18
It was shown that the disability, if incurred in service, was not incurred in the line of duty	16
The claimant had deserted the service	19
The bill would give the claimant the same or less than he was already receiving and hence be of no benefit whatever	9
The bill proposed to increase a rate of pension without any satisfactory reason for it	7
The claimant was not in the military or naval service of the United States	6
The party named in the bill had died	2
The bill proposed to give a large sum of arrears to a man already pensioned at $50 per month	1

The beneficiary had been injured by an accident since discharge and not while in the service	1
The bill did no give the right name of the claimant	1
The claim was shown to be a fraud and supported by perjury	1
An exact duplicate had previously passed Congress and been signed by the President	1
	121

Of Widows' Claims there were vetoed, because—

The husband's death was not a result of his military service	80
And of these, in ten cases, the husband committed suicide; in twenty cases he was killed by violence or accident since the war; in two cases he had deserted the service; in two cases he had disappeared, and was not certainly known to be dead, and in one case the claimant was called the widow, when she was in fact the mother of the soldier.	
The bill gave the same or less than already received	6
Soldier had deserted the service	2
Bill was wrongly worded	2
It was proposed to increase the pension for no sufficient reason shown	3
A duplicate bill had already passed and been approved	2
A duplicate bill had already passed and been vetoed	2
The widow had remarried since the soldier's death, and was no longer his widow	2
	99

Of Dependent Parents Claims, because—

Not dependent on the soldier for support	4
Soldier's death was not a result of service	3
Soldier's death was due to accident since discharge	3
Soldier's death was due to suicide	1
Claimant was only the step-mother of the soldier	1
The claim was supported by fraud and perjury	1
	13

Claims of all kinds vetoed because still pending unadjudicated in the Pension Bureau	17

Invalid	121
Widows	99
Dependents	13
All kinds still pending	17
Total	250

Not one of these bills was passed over the President's veto, although it was attempted. Many of the grounds here given are absolutely unassailable and show conclusively the extreme carelessness which characterized the action of Congress in the matters, and which permitted them to pass five bills which were exact duplicates of those formerly passed, and fifteen which would be of no benefit if not a positive injury to the petitioner. The propriety of certain other vetoes is simply a question of opinion and sound discretion, and the President's opportunity of arriving at a sound conclusion was somewhat better than that of the various members of Congress who had voted on the bills, in many instances without hearing them read. It is surely fair to assume that the Fifty-first Congress, Republican in both branches, and supported by a Republican President, with its vaunted friendship for the soldiers and its unquestioned readiness to discredit every act of the then ex-President, took up, reviewed and passed every bill vetoed by Mr. Cleveland which was improperly vetoed. Well, did they find two hundred and fifty such? On the contrary, they passed exactly fifty of them. Two hundred of the vetoes, then, must have been exactly right and unassailable, our enemies themselves being the judges, and as to the remaining fifty there may be room for a difference of opinion.

Here are the fifty vetoed by President Cleveland and passed by the Fifty-first Congress, with the number of the report in each case, setting forth the grounds on which it was proposed to take money from the Treasury, and to pay to these different individuals that which they had been denied under the general laws, while the hundreds of thousands of other pension claimants who were not so fortunate as to have their claims espoused by men in high official station were compelled to be content with the operation of those laws:

1. S. C. A. (Report 1408.) Widow. Soldier died in 1883, from insanity, "resulting from chronic diarrhœa." "Not medically established, yet it is reasonably shown that there was such connection."

2. J. F. B. (Report 678.) Increase. Was pensioned at $30 per month for wounds, has hernia and defective vision, which are in nowise due to his service. Increased to $50, "on account of his age and good military record."

3. M. B. (Report 1582.) Increase. Was pensioned at $30 for wound of right shoulder and neck. Increased to $50 because of partial paralysis claimed to be a result of said wound.

4. W. M. B. (1501.) Invalid. Enlisted March 25, 1865; discharged May 11, 1865—served forty-eight days. Pensioned for slight granulation of eyelids, claimed to have resulted from measles in April, 1865.

5. D. B. (932.) Widow. Soldier died in 1878, of yellow fever, as shown in Pension Office. Committee decides he died of kidney disease contracted in service.

6. W. B. (353.) Invalid. Increase. Was pensioned at $6 for disease. Increased to $50 because of loss of right arm and injury to left hand while firing a salute July 4, 1863, while at home on parole at Aurora, Ill.

7. W. H. B. (126.) Invalid. To pension him for hernia not shown to have been incurred in service. "He was not aware of the hernia until afterward."
8. A. B. (S. 342.) Mother. Son was discharged in 1864; remained in Louisiana and was killed in steamer explosion in 1865, not then being in the servive.
9. B. C. (2302.) Mother. Son was in the Regular Army and was accidentally drowned in 1886, while out in a sailboat, on a pass.
10. G. C. (S. 343.) Increase. Was pensioned at $2, for dog bite on left leg. In 1885 he strained his left knee. Increased to $25 on ground that "it may be safely assumed that the former was at least indirectly connected with the latter."
11. H. E. C. (952.) Widow. Soldier died in 1882 of intemperance, as shown to Pension Bureau. Committee decides that he died of rheumatism.
12. J. D. (4372.) Invalid. Record shows that he had rheumatism and sore eyes, contracted while absent from his command without leave on two different occasions. Committee recommends pensioning him.
13. F. D. (H. R. 366.) Invalid. Became blind in 1884; no proof of condition from 1865 to that date. Committee decides blindness was a result of rheumatism incurred in service.
14. A. D. (H. R. 1580.) Invalid. Has rupture; claims it was caused by saddle in the army. No positive proof as to that fact.
15. L. A. E. (1371.) Widow. Soldier died in 1884, of cystitis (inflammation of the bladder). Committee decides it was a result of rheumatism, or that he would not have died of cystitis if he had not also had rheumatism, which he incurred in service.
16. B. F. (1765.) Widow. Soldier died of rheumatism; record of War Department shows this disease originated before enlistment. Committee says not.
17. M. G. (52.) Invalid. Has rheumatism, varicose veins and sore eyes. No positive proof as to origin.
18. S. H. (823.) Widow. Soldier died in 1882 of apoplexy. He was pensioned seemingly for varicose veins. The Committee says "he died of a disease which might have been a result of his pensioned disability."
19. E. H. (135.) Widow. Soldier contracted asthma in service; he died in 1880 of cystitis. Committee seems to recommend allowance on the ground that although he died of cystitis he might have died from asthma "at any moment."
20. T. H. (136.) Widow. Soldier served from 1862 to August, 1864; was captured, joined the Confederate Army and served until spring of 1865. He died in 1868 of disease of heart, presumably the result of army service, but whether of his service in the Union Army or in the Confederate Army is not shown.
21. M. M. H. (318.) Widow. Increase. Husband was a Captain; widow was pensioned presumably at $20; increased to $25. No reason shown, except that the soldier was brevetted Major, and the widow had an "illustrious father."

22. J. T. I. (682.) Invalid. Claims disease of eyes resulting from wound on back of the neck. One Board of Surgeons says he has no disease of eyes. No positive proof as to origin. The Committee state that the doctors differ beyond the ability of the Committee to reconcile, but recommend that he be pensioned.
23. M. A. J. (973.) Widow. Husband disappeared in 1875 and it was not certainly known that he was dead, but the Committee presumed that he was dead and that he died of a disease due to his service.
24. M. A. L. (1272.) Widow. Soldier died in 1881 from excessive drinking. Committee decides he died from rheumatism.
25. H. R. L. (684.) Widow. Soldier died of consumption. Committee decides it was a result of diarrhœa due to service.
26. J. L. (1577.) Widow. Soldier committed suicide in 1876. Committee claimed it was a result of diarrhœa.
27. D. H. L. (516.) Invalid. Had been pensioned, but two boards of examining surgeons certified that no disability could be found and so he was dropped from the rolls, but Committee decided otherwise.
28. J. McC. (288.) Invalid. He is blind; it is not claimed that this was in any way due to his service; granted a service pension of $12.
29. M. McI. (157.) Widow. Soldier died in 1883 from an overdose of morphine and it was claimed it was caused by the pain from an amputated leg.
30. M. D. M. (2218.) Widow. Increase. Widow pensioned at $8 as Mexican War widow; increased to $50 because of husband's long service.
31. B. M. (1719.) Mother. Not dependent on soldier at date of death, but pensioned because now old and poor.
32. S. M. (2281.) Invalid. Had kidney disease; no proof that it existed prior to 1868, but pensioned at $8.
33. E. G. M. (577.) Widow. Husband killed by accident 1873. Widow pensioned because of his long service.
34. M. J. N. (725.) Widow. Soldier died in 1879 of consumption, and although it is shown that he had lung fever in 1853, Committee decides consumption was a result of fever and piles incurred in service.
35. C. M. O. (723.) Widow. Soldier was drowned in 1883. Committee decides it was due to heart disease.
36. G. W. P. (949.) Invalid. Fell in a well in 1881 and broke his leg and had it amputated. Claimed as a result of vertigo resulting from sunstroke in the army.
37. J. P. (54.) Widow. Soldier became insane in 1881, and later committed suicide, claimed due to service.
38. A. A. P. (947.) Widow. Husband died of yellow fever at Memphis during the epidemic in 1878; claimed that it was aggravated by diarrhœa and heart disease.
39. J. W. R. (1579.) Invalid. Was a Deputy Provost Marshal; not in military service.
40. C. S. (1542.) Widow. Husband was drowned or murdered in 1867, "could have well defended himself from attacks from murderers or saved himself from drowning but for the loss of his left arm."

41. S. S. (191.) Invalid. Had injury to back; cause not clearly shown; probably due to an explosion July 4, 1866, blowing a ramrod through arm. Report says "a case of considerable merit."
42. M. A. S. (145.) Widow. Husband died in 1886 of pneumonia, but claimed to have been aggravated by disease of ear due to service. This remarkable sentence appears in report, "the claim was rejected on the ground that the disease which caused soldier's death was not attributable to his service and had no connection with the disease from which he died."
43. C. G. S. (1248.) Widow. Soldier died in 1874 of congestion of liver as shown in Pension Office. Committee decides he died from blood poisoning, caused by cutting his finger while acting as Surgeon in hospital.
44. T. S. (1904.) Invalid. Was in regular army. While absent on pass July 4, 1872, had right hand blown off by explosion of a can of gunpowder.
45. E. S. (506.) Mother. Son was killed in a snowslide in 1884. Claimed result of insanity due to service.
46. J. T. (138.) Increase. Already pensioned at $16 by special act of Congress for gunshot wound of jaw. Increased to $24.
47. M. A. Van E. (511). Widow. Husband drowned in 1875. Claimed that but for rheumatism and heart disease contracted in service, "he would have been able to save himself from drowning, inasmuch as it is shown he was a good swimmer."
48. W. P. W. (1547). Invalid. Enlisted for 100 days. Claims liver disease, jaundice and rheumatism. Not show that he contracted them in service. Committee "are of opinion" that he did.
49. S. A. W. (1705.) Mother. Was pensioned on account of death of son; married again; pension ceased; husband still living. Same bill reported adversely in 1888 by Committee.
50. E. J. Y. (181.) Invalid. Had a fever sore before the war on left ankle. Claims it was struck by spent ball and injured. "It is highly probable that had he not suffered from fever sore, no serious result would have followed it" (the spent ball). "Equally probable that if he had not received the injury in the service, he might have gone through life comparatively well."

These fifty cases are the only ones disapproved by President Cleveland which were reviewed and reversed by the Fifty-first Congress. It is a fair presumption that they are the very best and worthiest cases in the whole 250. It is submitted that there is not one case in all this fifty which, on the showing made by the Committee in its favor, ought to have been allowed. There is not one which presents all the inherent equitable features of title but fails simply because of some technicality of the law, which condition only should justify a special act of Congress. During the period when all of these fifty reports were prepared, as well as during Mr. Cleveland's administration, the general laws did not allow pensions to soldiers of the late war, except for disabilities incurred in service and line of duty; nor to widows of such soldiers unless the husband's death was a result of and clearly chargeable to his military service;

nor to the mothers or fathers unless the soldier's death was a result of his military service and the claimant was dependent on him for support at the time of his death. Even now, in dependent parents' claims, the soldier's death must be a result of army service. Now, it must be clear, even to the layman, that in the fifty reports quoted from, all these fundamental principles have been most flagrantly violated, overridden and destroyed, and in each instance for the benefit solely of the one person named in the bill, while all other claimants similarly situated have been unable to secure similar benefits. Newly discovered disabilities are assumed to be due to the service without any reasonable ground for the assumption; fatal diseases, accidents and suicides are construed to be results of the army service on all manner of theories so transparently improbable as to be absurd, and various pretexts, unheard of in the general laws, are evolved to justify the allowance or the increase of pensions to those favored few who happen to have a friend at court. In them is no question of technicality or hardship in the general law; they simply pension these on terms which are denied to claimants in general.

Still, let this fact be emphasized and remembered now and always, that the granting of pensions to individuals by special act of Congress on grounds not recognized by the laws which govern the many, unless for some sound and valid reason not fundamental but merely technical, is *personal favoritism pure and simple*, and as such is an injustice toward, and an inexcusable discrimination against, the hundreds of thousands who have to submit to the operation of general laws, and have no facilities for securing to themselves such private, personal and exceptional benefits.

THE REPUBLICAN RECIPROCITY SHAM.

RESULTS OF THE DELUSIVE ATTEMPT TO STIMULATE FOREIGN TRADE.

The system of reciprocity, to which Republicans are now "pointing with pride," was begotten two years ago in fear; was conceived in dissimulation; was born in falsehood, and is now kept wrapped up in juggled figures and systematic misrepresentations.

The McKinley bill had been railroaded through the House of Representatives without a suggestion of reciprocity about it and with the duty absolutely removed from sugar in order to save the really protective duties in the tariff law; the bill as introduced by Mr. McKinley even imposed a duty on South American hides, but the protests of Republican Representatives from the shoe making districts of Massachusetts prevailed, and Mr. McKinley consented to leave hides on the free list. In this condition, with the sugar duty repealed absolutely, the wool duty increased and the taxation of hides with difficulty prevented, the McKinley bill went to the Senate in May, 1890. On the 4th of June Secretary Blaine sent his reciprocity report to the President, and this was made public June 19, with a message by the President in which he gave not the slightest indication of his approval of the scheme outlined by the Secretary. In this message he said, "It will certainly be time enough for us to consider whether we must cheapen the cost of production by cheapening labor in order to gain access to the South American markets, when we have fairly tried the effect of established and reliable steam communication. . . . If afte Congress shall have acted on pending tariff legislation, it shall appear that under the general treaty making power, or under any special powers given by law, our trade with the States represented in the conference can be enlarged upon a basis of mutual advantage it will be promptly done." In other words, subsidize steamship lines, pass the McKinley bill as it came from the House, and try this for a while, and if an enlargement of our South American commerce does not result then we will try reciprocity treaties.

Mr. Hale introduced a reciprocity amendment to the tariff bill which Mr. Blaine had prepared and it remained in the Senate nearly three months unacted on. But during the summer the evidences of popular hostility to the McKinley bill increased. The clouds in the sky gave warning of the storm

that broke in November. The Republicans became alarmed. They began to think that Mr. Blaine's anchor to windward would be a good thing. Still the President and his friends would not allow the work of Mr. Blaine to become a part of the tariff law and Mr. Aldrich drew a reciprocity amendment which was adopted in September by the votes of the Republican Senators. The reciprocity amendment was regarded with great aversion by the Republican leaders of the House, but it was at last acceded to. It was taken up by the Republicans when they were alarmed at the unpopularity of the tariff bill the House had passed. On the 28th of January last Mr. Hale said in the Senate: "I do not hesitate, Mr. President, in stating here and now, as the result of my observation, that I firmly believe that section 3 of the McKinley bill, which contains the reciprocity feature, is the part of the measure which has floated the whole act and which kept it from being swamped by the storm which without reason broke upon it from the day of its passage. The great merits of other parts of the McKinley bill might have sunk under a sea of obloquy and would never have been seen and appreciated if the reciprocity clause had not kept the whole structure from going down."

The Bargain With Brazil.

The negotiations between the Secretary of State and the Brazilian Minister began soon after the enactment of the McKinley bill and the result was the reciprocity agreement announced by the Secretary to the President in February. Accompanying the Secretary's statement of the terms agreed on was a tabular statement of our exports to Brazil of which the Secretary said: "It will also show the average annual value, as compiled from Brazilian statistical reports for the last three years, of the imports of said articles into Brazil from the United States."

In this official presentation of reciprocity to the American public there are three important and gross misstatements of fact. Several of the articles Brazil purported to admit free from the United States under the agreement were already on the Brazilian free list; were already free to all the world. The figures in question were not obtained from Brazilian statistical reports, but from our own, and may be found in the annual report on Commerce and Navigation for the fiscal year 1888 by any one who cares to look them up. The figures do not show the average importation of Brazil from this country for three years, but they give the imports of Brazil from this country for a single year, 1888, which happened to be a year of small importation from this country, although the complete figures of our commerce for 1889 and 1890 were within the reach of the Secretary.

It was stated above that articles that were already on the Brazilian free list were set forth as being made free to us exclusively under the reciprocity agreement. The first of these is wheat. Our consular reports show as far back as 1887 that wheat was on the Brazilian free list. Another article free to all the world, but which it was pretended was to be made free to us alone under the reciprocity agreement, was coal. The free entry of our agricultural implements into Brazil was one of the pretended triumphs of reciprocity; they were already on the Brazilian free list. Just the same thing is true of railway construction

material and equipment. Parts of the Brazilian tariffs in force at those times were published by our State Department in 1884 and 1887, and a complete translation of the Brazilian tariff of October 11, 1890, before our reciprocity agreement was negotiated, was published in the hand-book on Brazil issued by the Bureau of American Republics, which is an adjunct of our State Department.

The statement of exports can not have been derived from Brazilian sources unless there has been an extraordinary coincidence somewhere. That the Brazilian statements, translated back into English and with the Braziliar reduced to United States currency, should prove to be identical with our own statements involves too large a demand upon credulity. The fact that the figures are those of our own reports for 1888 stamps the statement about their being an average for three years as a patent untruth. The purpose of some one in the State Department who got up these figures, for, of course, the Secretary of State did not, was to make the American exports to Brazil before reciprocity appear as small as possible in order to increase the contrast with the figures after reciprocity.

This pretended statement of our average exports to Brazil for three years set down wheat at $150, which is true for 1888. In 1889 we sent to Brazil $384,337 worth of wheat and in 1890 the amount was $1,616,158. In 1891, the reciprocity year, the value of our wheat export to Brazil fell to $501,207, and in 1892 it was only $183,639. Our average export of wheat flour to Brazil for three years is stated to have been $2,778,353. That is the amount we exported in 1888. In 1889 our flour export to Brazil amounted to $3,651,908, in 1890 to $3,304,990, in 1891 to $3,838,919 and in 1892 to $4,972,539.

In regard to corn and manufactures of it, including meal and starch, it is a little difficult to make the comparison because it is uncertain what manufactures are included. Of beans and peas, which were to be admitted into Brazil free, it was set forth that our average exportation had been $478. The first figure is probably a misprint, for our annual volume on Commerce and Navigation shows that in 1888 we exported $578 worth of beans and peas to Brazil. In 1889 the amount was $46,565 and in 1890 it was $43,189. It was stated that our average export for three years of pork, salted and pickled, except hams, was $44,809. That is the amount we exported to Brazil in 1888. In 1889 we exported to that country the same articles worth $104,822 and this amount rose in 1890 to $456,873.

Our average export of cottonseed oil is put down at $4,376, which is the amount we sent to Brazil in 1888. The figures for 1889 were $7,237, and for 1890, $8,794. According to the official statement accompanying the reciprocity agreement, we had exported no coal to Brazil for three years. We did not in 1888, but in 1889 we sent to Brazil coal worth $847, and in 1890, $46,750. In 1891 we sent to Brazil coal worth $79,764, and in 1892, $105,977. The official figures set forth that our export of railroad equipment to Brazil for three years averaged $155,539. That is the value of the locomotive engines, cars and car wheels we exported to Brazil in 1888. The figures for 1889 are $557,711, and for 1890, $736,960. The official statement, or rather the official mis-statement, puts down our average export of lard and substitutes for lard to Brazil for the three years at $371,399. It does not appear what substitutes are included, but

our export of lard to Brazil expressed in dollars was $369,067 in 1888, $484,799 in 1889, and $1,509,255 in 1890, without any reciprocity treaty to help. In 1891 reciprocity was established, and the export that year was only $1,304,970, and in 1892 it fell to $549,921. In regard to many other items also the figures for 1888 are offered to the public with the official declaration that they are the figures for an average of three years.

General Results.

What now of the results of reciprocity? Every Republican paper is pointing out that our exports in the aggregate are larger than they were before, but they were rapidly increasing before. The only effect of reciprocity seems to have been to check the rate of increase. Our total domestic exports to Brazil for several years have been as follows:

1888	$7,063,892
1889	9,276,511
1890	11,902,496
1891	14,049,278

It will be observed that the increase of 1889 over the previous year was more than two million dollars, the percentage of increase being 31; the increase in 1890 over the previous year was more than two million dollars, and the percentage of increase 28.3; the increase in 1891 over the previous year was more than two millions, and the percentage of increase was 18.6. Near the end of the fiscal year 1891 the reciprocity enterprise was started; let us see with what results.

The Bureau of Statistics has not made up the report of our exports for the last fiscal year by countries; but in order to make comparisons regarding reciprocity easy it has stated the amount of our exports to Brazil for fifteen months before and fifteen months after the beginning of reciprocity. During the first fifteen months of reciprocity our total exports to Brazil amounted to $18,044,452. Assuming that four-fifths of this belongs to the twelve months ending June 30, 1892, then our exports for that year were $14,435,562. The increase over the previous year, instead of being a good deal over two million dollars, is only $315,316 and the percentage of increase has dropped suddenly from 18.6 to 2.2. The monthly summary of the Bureau of Statistics for the month of June and the fiscal year 1892, says: "During the fifteen months ended March 31, 1891, our exports of domestic products to Brazil amounted to $16,279,969 and during the fifteen months from April 1, 1891, the period when the reciprocity treaty with that country went into effect to June 30, 1892, our exports of domestic products to that country amounted to $18,044,452, an increase of $1,764,483 or 10.84 per cent." This increase in fifteen months under reciprocity is less absolutely and less relatively than the increase made every twelve months for three years before the reciprocity project went into effect. This monthly summary shows that the fifteen months since reciprocity compared with the fifteen months before reciprocity show the following changes: increases, wheat flour, $1,745,459, cars for steam railroads $439,676, steam engines (on the Brazilian free list) $1,023,988; decreases, wheat, $779,897, lumber, $1,688,875.

Comparing the exports from this country to Brazil for 1892 with those for 1891, it will be seen that there was a decrease of $39,000 in agricultural implements, $317,568 in wheat, $230,000 in steam engines, $225,000 in bacon, $755,000 in lard, $6,000 in butter and $135,000 in boards, planks, deals, joists and scantling. There was an increase of more than $1,100,000 in flour, an increase in carriages and cars, an increase of $25,000 in coal, which was on the Brazilian free list, an increase of $167,000 in cottons, an increase of $25,000 in builders' hardware, saws and tools, which were already on the free list (see page 127 of the report of the Bureau of Statistics on the commerce of the United States with American countries, 1891), an increase of $12,000 in turpentine and naval stores, $70,000 in cottonseed oil, $8,000 in tallow and $43,000 in mineral oil. In view of the fact that for a period of fifteen months the increase in the aggregate exports to Brazil amounted to less than 11 per cent., it is evident that the weight or bulk of cargoes sent to Brazil did not increase in any radical manner. The State Department's report on reciprocity, giving the figures for the first twelve months of the system, shows an increase of $1,052,573, or less than 7½ per cent. When the State Department, therefore, under the caption of "Increased Exports from the United States" (see Senate Executive Document 119, Fifty-second Congress, first session) shows that the Brazil Mail Steamship Company has been sending out very much more merchandise than it used to, it is simply showing that the steamship line has been getting business away from the sailing vessels, and not that the export business of this country has been increasing in any remarkable degree. The figures given to the world by this Administration show that the export business to Brazil has increased much less absolutely and relatively since reciprocity was established than it did before, and the State Department offers explanations of this fact. The substance of the claim of the State Department is that wherever an increase of exports occurs it is due to reciprocity, regardless of the increases before reciprocity, and whenever a decrease occurs it is due to the commercial conditions of Brazil or the other reciprocity country, and would have been much greater but for the reciprocity agreement.

A Record of Failure.

According to Mr. Blaine, there was not a line in the McKinley bill that would open a market for a barrel of flour or a barrel of pork. Reciprocity was to do all that the McKinley bill failed to do. How has it done it? Our aggregate wheat and flour exports in 1892 were more than 123 per cent. greater than in 1891, but our wheat and flour exports to Brazil were less than 19 per cent. greater in 1892 than in 1891. Our wheat, flour and corn exports to Great Britain were twice as great in 1892 as in 1891. Our wheat export to France was three and a half times as great in 1892 as in 1891. Our exports of corn, wheat and flour to other European countries were four and a third times as great in 1892 as in 1891. But the increase to Brazil was less than one-fifth. Our aggregate exports of bacon in 1892 were nearly two million dollars greater than in 1891, but our export to Brazil was less in 1892 than in 1891 by $225,590. The falling off of our lard exports in 1892 as compared with 1891 was $755,049 to Brazil and $457,653 to the rest of the world. Of butter, we

exported in all $248,772 more in 1892 than in 1891, but to Brazil we exported $5,928 less.

The increase of all our domestic exports for 1892 over 1891 was 16.4 per cent. The increase to Brazil for a period of fifteen months after as compared with fifteen months before reciprocity, was 10.84 per cent.

The reason for which reciprocity was urged was that in our trade with Brazil the balance of trade was against us. We bought a great deal of coffee from Brazil, and Brazil did not buy a great deal of manufactured goods from us. The population of Brazil is small, the industries are carried on with primitive implements and the climate renders no large amount of clothing needful. But reciprocity was the remedy for this adverse balance of trade. In 1887 the adverse balance was forty-four millions, the next year it was forty-six millions and in 1889 it rose to fifty-one millions, more than it ever was before; the following year it fell to forty-seven millions. It was during 1891 that the reciprocity system was established, and in that fiscal year the adverse balance rose to $69,110,349. In the last fifteen months before reciprocity the balance of trade with Brazil against us was $72,846,133, but in the first fifteen months under reciprocity the balance against us rose to $127,917,885. The figures are almost beyond belief, but on page 29 of the June summary of imports and exports, issued by the Bureau of Statistics, it will be seen that in fifteen months our exports to Brazil increased $1,764,483, and our imports from Brazil increased $56,836,205. In a somewhat less degree the reciprocity system and the subsidy system combined have had a similar effect on our trade with Cuba. In ten months of reciprocity, as compared with the corresponding ten months of the previous year, our exports to Cuba increased $5,702,197 and our imports from Cuba increased $11,834,965. In 1879 Mr. J. G. Cannon, Republican, proved in the House by our own experience that under a system of steamship subsidies our imports increased enormously faster than our exports.

In October, 1891, the bureau of American Republics supplied the Associated Press with a paragraph stating that twenty-four locomotives were then being loaded at Philadelphia for Brazil, and that one concern had a contract to deliver 128 locomotives in Brazil. "Under the reciprocity treaty with Brazil," says this dispatch, "locomotives and railway supplies from the United States are admitted free of customs duty, and the railway equipment of that Republic, which was formerly almost exclusively of English manufacture, is now being rapidly replaced by articles of American manufacture;" but in June of that same year, four months earlier than this statement of what reciprocity was doing for our locomotive builders, the same bureau of American Republics published the Brazil tariff which went into effect in October, 1890, before the reciprocity negotiations began, and among the articles therein declared to be free of duty, no matter whence imported, are the following: "Rails over 22.2 lbs. per metre; locomotives and turn-tables and any other articles, not classified, for railroads; machinery, agricultural, mining, for factories or workshops and for navigation, moved by steam, water, air, gas or wind, electricity, animal or any other motive power, or any other motors fixed, movable or portable, including the latter."

We have exported the following locomotives to Brazil: 11 in 1888, 32 in 1889, 41 in 1890 and 97 in 1891, only three months of which year were under the

reciprocity arrangements. Of cars we sent to Brazil 89 in 1888, 221 in 1889, 515 in 1890 and 660 in 1891. The increased export since the establishment of reciprocity does not appear to be much out of proportion to the increase that was going on before reciprocity was thought of, and as locomotives and railroad equipment go into Brazil free from all countries the reciprocity agreement can cut no figure in the matter. Cars had been admitted to Brazil duty free, but the tariff of 1890 imposed a duty of 20 per cent. on them, possibly in order to have something to yield to us in the reciprocity negotiations.

Relatively speaking, reciprocity makes a better show for itself in Cuba than in Brazil, but we have figures for only ten months and complete figures for only eight months, and the comparisons are made with 1891, which in one very important item does not give an adequate idea of the ordinary trade. In eight months of this year, under reciprocity, we exported to Cuba flour worth $1,333,185 against $453,670 in the corresponding part of the previous year. But in 1890 our flour export to Cuba amounted to $1,164,538, and in 1888 it was $1,238,067. So that the increase under reciprocity is phenomenal only when compared with the particular year 1891. If it be compared with 1890 and 1888 it is not more than a common annual increase before reciprocity went into effect. So, also, in provisions; there was an increase from two millions to three millions in eight months of reciprocity as compared with eight months of the previous year; but the provision exports were $2,907,000 in 1890, as compared with which the increase for eight months of reciprocity is not extraordinary. The very great increase in our imports from Cuba and in the balance against us in that trade has already been noticed.

The Omission of Canada.

With all its eagerness to increase our trade with the countries south of us, the Republican party is wholly opposed to increasing our trade with the country north of us. Our South American trade is comparatively small, and in it there is a large balance against us. This is the trade the Republicans are trying to build up, and the more they try the bigger the adverse balance is. Our trade with Canada is large, and the balance is very much in our favor; the Canadians pay us three dollars every time we pay them two. Canada is so close to us that the cost of transportation is a very slight obstacle to trade. Not even a Republican has dared to propose to subsidize lines of lake steamers, or the boats that run between Boston and Halifax. This trade the Republicans are hostile to and do all they can to oppose, and one of the greatest achievements of the McKinley bill was an increase of duties on a few articles of Canadian produce that came over to this country in small quantities.

Why are the Republicans so anxious to develop trade with South America and so hostile to trade with Canada?

The reason that the Republicans give is that some eggs and a little hay and a few horses come over the line into the United States, and so they tell the farmers of this country that they must be protected against Canadian competition. Look first at our Canadian trade as a whole. From 1873 down to the present time Canada has bought of us more every year than we have bought of Canada by several million dollars. Since 1882 the smallest balance in our favor was

more than eleven and a half million dollars, and in four of those years it has exceeded nineteen million dollars. In 1890, the year Mr. McKinley raised the fines imposed on people for the crime of dealing with Canada, our northern neighbor bought of us more than sixty-one million dollars worth, and we bought of her less than forty million dollars worth. The balance of trade in our favor that year was $22,274,090, and in 1891 the balance in our favor was $19,905,523. The exports from this country to Canada in 1891 were worth more than all our exports to Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentine, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, Peru and Ecuador put together.

It is said by Mr. McKinley and other Republicans that if we let down the bars, cheap Canadian food will pour in here and make life more comfortable for the poor in our cities, but will injure the trade of our farmers. Now look at the figures of our Canadian commerce for 1890, the last full year before the McKinley law. It is true that we imported over five million dollars worth of barley from Canada, but it is also true that shutting out much of this by the McKinley bill has injured the malting interests of New York State, and this has reacted on the barley raisers to their injury. But we bought no corn of Canada and Canada bought more than four million dollars worth of corn of us. The total breadstuffs that we bought of Canada amounted to $5,930,691, and the amount Canada bought of us was $8,346,690. Canada sold us $109,145 worth of wheat, and we sold Canada $2,582,575 worth. We bought of Canada provisions worth $168,969 and Canada bought of us provisions worth $3,427,880. Besides this, Canada bought of us miscellaneous agricultural products worth $2,726,708. So that we not only have a large balance in our favor in our aggregate trade with Canada, but the same is true of our trade in farm products.

Most of the fiscal year 1891 was under the operation of the McKinley bill. That year shows a falling off as compared with the previous year of $1,511,406 in our exports of breadstuffs, $1,134,794 in provisions and $365,399 in our export of miscellaneous agricultural products to Canada. In the year the McKinley bill went into effect we sold to Canada of all sorts of agricultural products less than we did the year before by $3,011,599. In 1890 we sold to Canada butter worth $247,220 and cheese worth $1,188,068, and we bought from Canada butter worth $12,825 and cheese worth $1,983. Certainly that sort of traffic is not injurious to our farmers. But Mr. McKinley undertook to protect them from cheap Canadian competition, and our sales to Canada fell off in 1891 $157,409 in butter and $293,108 in cheese. Look at the item of coal. American coal can reach Western Canada by cheap water routes, and Nova Scotia coal can reach New England in the same way. But each country imposes a duty on the coal of the other in order to send Nova Scotia coal by rail to Ontario, and Pennsylvania coal by rail to Massachusetts. But we have the long end of this trade also. In 1891 we bought of Canada coal worth $2,334,775, and sold to Canada coal worth $4,095,297. The American coal producers have much influence with the gentlemen who are running the Republican party, but they would make larger sales if Canada were open to us.

MARINE SUBSIDIES.

QUACK REMEDIES FOR THE REVIVAL OF AMERICAN SHIPPING.

The scheme of reviving the American shipping interests by means of tonnage subsidies and mail gratuities is the direct outgrowth of that method of favoritism which is the root of the system of protection. In order to understand how closely so-called industrial protection and a decline in our maratime interests are connected, a short review of the history of the American merchant marine is necessary.

At the time the thirteen colonies threw off the yoke of English control the American shipping interests formed an important part of our material welfare. In spite of the barriers then thrown in our way by England, our shipbuilders and ship merchants had succeeded in creating a considerable ocean marine.

From the close of the Revolutionary War to the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars between England and France, the American shipping interests prospered, as may be judged by the fact that in 1790 our merchant tonnage engaged in foreign trade was 346,254 tons, while in 1795 it was 529,471 tons. Following this came a period in which the American ship merchants suffered severely from the interference and seizures of the great warring nations of Europe. As ours was the only maritime country which was not involved in the European struggle, it was thought by both contestants that our neutral position would gain for us an undesirable supremacy upon the ocean; and as our Government did not possess the war ships to protect its merchant commerce upon the high seas, American merchant ships were seized upon all manner of pretexts.

The insurance rates against seizure were frequently 30 or 40 per cent. of the value of the ship and cargo for a single voyage. The value of the property seized is set in the official reports of the claims for damages against England, France and Spain at more than $300,000,000. As might be supposed, under these conditions our merchant tonnage engaged in foreign trade declined, for while in 1800 it was 667,105 tons and in 1810, 981,019 tons; in 1814 it had fallen to 674,633 tons.

With the close of the War of 1812 the American merchant marine instantly revived. The people along our sea coast are born sailors, and, unless prohibited from so doing by adverse conditions, take to the water as naturally as ducks. From 1815 to 1860 the history of our shipping is largely controlled by

the adverse and favorable influences of tariff legislation. In 1815, after the close of the War of 1812, our merchant tonnage engaged in foreign trade had risen to 854,295 tons, but in 1830 it had fallen to quite a degree in consequence of the protectionist legislation of the period, to 537,563 tons, an amount considerably smaller than we had had in 1800.

This was chiefly due to the action of the protectionists in Congress in imposing heavy burdens in the form of taxes upon the materials needed for shipbuilding and ship maintenance. It was these attempts which called forth the protests of Daniel Webster, who, though then a protectionist, said in one of his speeches in the Senate: "It is not, sir, by protection and bounties, but by unwearied exertion, by extreme economy, by unshaken perseverance, that manly and resolute spirit which relies on itself to protect itself; these causes alone enable American ships still to keep their element and show the flag of their country in distant seas. But when we consider that the articles entering into the consumption of a ship, with the exception of wood, are dearer here than in other countries, we cannot but be utterly surprised that the shipping interest has been able to sustain itself at all."

The Golden Age of American Shipping.

During the years from 1845 to 1860, the period during which we had a tariff for revenue rather than for protection, the growth of our merchant marine was phenomenally rapid. In 1850 American tonnage of all kinds was 3,485,266 tons. English tonnage of all kinds was 4,232,962 tons. In 1860 American tonnage of all kinds was 5,299,175 tons, English tonnage of all kinds was 5,710,968 tons. Thus in ten years the American merchant marine gained 1,813,909 tons, or a trifle over 52 per cent., while during the same time the English merchant marine gained only 1,478,006 tons, or about 32 per cent.

But the gain in our merchant tonnage engaged in foreign trade was even greater than the gain which included the foreign, coastwise and fishing trades. As the figures of the U. S. Commissioner of Navigation given above show, the gain in the fifteen years from 1845 to 1860 (the tariff for revenue period of our national history) was equal to 163 per cent., a gain which, when the magnitude of the interest is taken into account, will be found to be without its parallel in the records of the world. If these rates of gain had been maintained another decade, they would have given to us the supremacy of the seas. But at this period the Civil War began, the first of the war-protective tariffs was enacted, and our merchant marine tonnage began that retrograde movement which has ended in taking our flag almost completely from the great trade routes of the ocean.

The decade from 1845 to 1860 marks the high-water point in our progress as a maritime nation. The American ships of that period made quicker passages, delivered their freight in better condition and were loaded and discharged with greater dispatch than the ships of any other nation. The American sailor put a vigor and energy into his work which overcame all competition. For these reasons American ships at that time commanded a preference in all the great foreign seaports. An English merchant at Hong Kong or Calcutta, having merchandise which he wished to send to London, would pay more in

freight money to have it carried by an American ship than he would give to have it carried by an English vessel. There is little or no sentiment in trade, and as it was then generally conceded that it was a saving of time and money to use American tonnage, the preference was given to us. The rapid increase in our shipping was due to the profitable character of the business. Wooden ships, and these were the kind then in use, could be built in the United States at lower prices than they could be built for elsewhere. But there the advantage of low prices ended. The officers and crews of American merchant ships were paid very much higher wages than were given to their English rivals, the officers receiving on the average quite double the pay given to English captains and mates. The question of rate of wages, assuming efficiency of service, is a minor consideration, as is proved by our experience then and the present experience of the English merchant marine. The English ship-owners pay the officers and crews of their vessels 50 per cent. higher wages than are paid by French ship-owners, and quite 100 per cent. more than the wages received by the officers and crews of Spanish and Italian merchant ships. But these latter cannot, in spite of the stimulus of subsidies, begin to compete with the English; and at the time referred to the English were hopelessly in the rear of us.

Near the close of the last half century the English, realizing the disadvantages they labored under in not having as cheaply built vessels as we possessed, adopted a policy which our government, though repeatedly petitioned, has never had the good sense to copy. They repealed their navigation laws, which were then substantially the same as ours now are, and which prevented, as ours do, the purchase and registration of a foreign built vessel. Between 1850 and 1860, as well as during the period of our civil war, many hundreds of American ships were sold to English ship merchants, these constituting quite a little of the gain in their tonnage previously referred to. The building of ships for the English market was for some years a profitable industry on the coast of New England.

English Gain at American Expense.

Since 1860 the English have greatly improved both in ship building and in the navigation of ships. The officers of English merchant vessels are better trained and educated than they were 30 or 40 years ago; but in these respects their ability is now no greater than that of the old-time American captains and mates, and if American ocean commerce had been developing, instead of stagnating, during the past generation, we should by our greater improvements have still maintained our relative superiority.

The certainty of this conclusion is brought out by the superiority we exhibit whenever a chance for comparison offers itself. The steamships we have built for our coastwise trade are, in model, furnishing and adabtability to intended services, far ahead of any of those used around the coast of Great Britain. The defect of the former—and this is an insuperable one—is their greater relative cost, occasioned by the high price, caused by the protective tariff of the materials out of which they are constructed. In a merchant vessel 10 per cent. net a year has to be charged off for depreciation. In about eight years a vessel

valued at first at $500,000 will have parted with nearly $300,000 of her original worth. This would represent the entire value of a vessel which had a first cost of 40 per cent. less than the one referred to, and this 40 per cent. is what Mr. Charles H. Cramp, the Delaware ship-builder, told a committee of the United States Senate was the average rate of duty on the materials entering into the construction of American ships, and he added, "If our shipbuilders could be relieved from that they could compete successfully with foreign builders." In other words, with an average useful existence of not over 18 years, the owner of a ship has to earn during that time not only interest on the money invested, but also enough to make good to him the entire original outlay. If one vessel costs, when constructed, $500,000, and a similar vessel, constructed elsewhere, only $300,000, the owner of the former will have to earn, in order to do a reasonably profitable business, not only interest on a larger sum than the owner of the latter, but in the first eight years he must earn in addition the equivalent of the entire first cost of the latter.

This is a burden which no business subjected, as the shipping business is, to the competition of the world, can bear. It is that which has paralyzed the American shipping trade. When conditions are absolutely equal as to receipts and costs of maintenance, an income sufficient to pay the owner of a low-cost English vessel six per cent. interest on his investment and enough in addition to make good the depreciation in value of his ship, will prove insufficient to pay for the annual depreciation in the value of the high-priced American ship, to say nothing of interest upon investment. This is the cause of the entire want of success of most of the many praiseworthy attempts which have been made during the last twenty-five years to build and sail American merchant ships upon foreign voyages. No superior energy and seamanship can hold its own under such terribly unequal conditions. The ship-merchant's tools are his ships, his markets are the seaports of the entire world. He must be able to meet all comers upon an equal footing, so far as first cost is concerned. Given that equality it becomes simply a question of business and nautical ability. But when these first conditions have been equal, as they would now be if it were not for the protective tariff, the American ship-merchants and American sailors have always shown themselves to be ready to undertake the task of meeting and defeating all competitors. They have asked simply for a free field and no favors. Before 1860, the only request made to Congress by the representatives of the American shipping interests was to be let alone.

If the revolution in ship ing brought about by the substitution of iron and steel in place of wood for ship-building, and the general employment of steam-engines in place of sails for motive power had not taken place, it would have been easier for us, after the Civil War, to have regained our former maritime supremacy; but he iron needed both for hull and engine has been a highly protected commodity, and for this reason the English for the last twenty-five years have had, in consequence of their cheaper iron, th same advantage over us in ship-construction that we had over them for the quarter of a century prior to 1860. As will be seen by the tables of American tonnage, already given, the recovery from the depression incident to the War of 1812 and the depredations upon our commerce prior to that event was immediate and gratifying to the patriotic pride of the nation. The recovery after the Civil War would

have been equally satisfactory, if the insurmountable barrier raised by the protective tariff had not barred the way. At first the ship-builders, as well as the ship-merchants, tried to break through this. John Roach, the ship-builder, who afterwards became a subsidy-seeker, said to a Congressional Committee in 1869 :

"America has lost her commerce, and what has she obtained in exchange for it? Simply the right of a few men to charge $9 per ton in gold on the importation of pig iron. Pig iron is the basis of all other metals connected with the making and repairing of ships. There has been a revolution in ship-building, and iron is the material from which they are now built. The high cost of iron produced by the tariff upon it is one of the principal difficulties our commerce has to contend with. I did not come here to ask a bounty. I came here to tell you that while all other articles of American produce are protected to a great extent, there is no protection for American ships. If Congress will take off all the duties from American iron, reducing it to the price of foreign iron, then we are prepared to compete with foreign ship-builders. The labor question is misstated; we are prepared to meet that difficulty, and to ask no further legislation on the subject."

These were the opinions of a large number of other ship-builders, who were later on persuaded by the protectionists that their interests could be better served by an alliance with them in an effort to obtain a Government bounty. The two systems that have been urged upon Congress with the approval of the Republican party have been mail subsides and tonnage bounties, devices which have been—while cloaked under the patriotic disguise of a wish to restore the American flag to the high seas—but artful methods to deplete the United States Treasury for the benefit of a few favored individuals.

Mail Subventions.

The experience of the United States Government in granting mail subventions has been peculiarly unfortunate. From 1850 to 1858 our Government paid to the companies controlling the Collins line, which had steamers running between New York and Liverpool, $5,212,091, the payments aggregating for several years $858,000 per annum. For all practical results obtained the money might just as well have been thrown into the sea, for the steamers were run under conditions which made the company insolvent, regardless of its enormous mail subvention. And yet at the very time this disastrous experiment of official pampering was taking place, the genuine, independent, unsubsidized commerce of the country was increasing at a prodigious rate. The next attempt was made shortly after the war, when Congress voted mail subventions to the New York and Brazil Steamship Company and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. By this means, in ten years $1,500,000 was paid to the first and $4,583,333 to the last named corporation. The line to Brazil would have been put in operation in a short time even if no aid had been given, and the only return the American people received for their donation was to slightly expedite the movement. The Pacific Mail subsidy for its line to China and Japan was promoted by the most outrageous lobby influences, which subsequently led to a Congressional investigation, culminating in a scandal which has formed, like the Credit Mobilier, one of our historical disgraces.

But what was the result of the grant? The expenditure by the Pacific Mail Company of millions of dollars in the construction of four large wooden side-

wheel steamers, wholly unfitted, as experience proved, for the traffic they were to engage in, and at a time when usage, both here and abroad, had shown that iron propeller steamships were vastly better adapted for ocean voyages. The prudence and forethought of the managers of the Pacific Mail were blinded by the immense donation which their company had obtained from Congress, and they extravagantly wasted their resources in a manner they would never have thought of doing, if they had been depending for success entirely upon their own efforts. With the Collins line the experiment ended in bankruptcy; with the Pacific Mail it came perilously near the same result; for while before receiving its subsidy the company was in a flourishing financial condition, possessing a great surplus and paying large, regular dividends, since that time it has been in a semi-impoverished state, constantly appealing to Congress for assistance. These experiences are not of a character to justify further donations, or to warrant the belief that if they are granted they will be of service even to those who are the recipients of them.

European Subsidies and Bounties.

But it is said the English, French, Italian, German and other governments grant subsidies and bounties to their merchant marine, and in order to succeed we must do likewise. This is an assertion which, as will be shown, does not bear honest examination, when urged as a reason for bounty giving. In his report to the State Department, dated London, September 3, 1889, Consul-General John C. New says: "The British Government does not grant subsidies, in the general sense of that term, to any steamship company; but the post-office authorities make contracts for the conveyance of mails to the different parts of the world with the steamship companies having steamers sailing to those parts." The amount paid for this service in the year 1888–89 is stated in the same report to be $3,184,485. But who are the main recipients of these donations? Three or four lines of steamers running to the English colonies. Are they intended to promote English commerce? Not in the least. The English government feels compelled for political and military reasons to maintain fast mail services between her colonies and the mother country, just as we feel obliged to pay annually large sums of money to maintain mail services in our distant States and Territories, and to make additional grants for the purpose of expediting these services. Of the sum referred to, the mail service to India, Singapore, Hong Kong and Australia, performed by the P. & O. Company, absorbs much more than half of the amount named, its mail subvention aggregating about $1,800,000. This is not given to encourage trade. The sea route between England and the East Indies is covered with English merchant vessels. But England must keep in close touch with her great Indian dependency, and for this reason pays a large sum annually to the company that will agree to run ships between the two countries at an exceptionally high rate of speed, covering the distance in 344 hours, with a heavy penalty for any delay. During the same year, 1889, we paid for mail service performed by our inland and coastwise steamers $1,001,942, but no one would think of pretending that the sum was given to encourage commerce upon our inland waters and along our coast. If

we had isolated colonies in all parts of the world we should be under the necessity of paying for keeping up close mail connection with them, for the same political and military reasons that actuate England in the policy she is pursuing.

All but a small fraction of the remainder of the sum of money referred to by Consul-General New is paid for fast mail service to the English colonies in the West Indies and in South Africa. For carrying the mails to South America so much per pound of mail matter is given in much the same manner that similar services are paid for by the United States Post Office Department. For the purpose of maintaining an alternate route to India, which might be made use of for military purposes if travel through the Suez Canal was interdicted, the British Government has lately granted a direct donation to a line of steamers running from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Hong Kong; both places being English colonies. Besides this the English Government has agreed to pay annually to the owners of certain steamships a comparatively small sum of money in consideration of a contract on the part of the latter to turn over to the government the said vessels, if these should be needed as cruisers in time of war; the ships in question having been built with a view to this possible service. In all this there cannot be found the least suggestion of a subsidy, either in the manner, or for the purpose advocated by the subsidy-hunters in this country.

In France, the government has adopted and applied a system of mail subsidies and general shipping bounties, leading, according to Curtis's Report to the State Department, to an annual payment of $6,792,778. It may be remarked that the laws of France do not prevent the purchase and registration of foreign built ships; it is even provided that a bounty shall be paid to vessels so purchased of so much per ton for each 1,000 miles passed over in making foreign voyages, the distinction being that a French built ship receives twice as much bounty as a foreign built ship. Besides this, a subvention is given to the French builders of vessels, and direct bounties to a few favored steamship lines. The merits of a system must be judged by its results. The existing French shipping subsidy system went into effect January 29, 1881. In 1880 the merchant tonnage of France was 919,298; in 1890 it was 1,045,102, indicating a gain in the interval of about 13 per cent., although this was chiefly made between 1889 and 1890. But in 1880 the merchant marine of England was 8,427,171 tons, and in 1890 11,597,106, showing a gain in the same time of more than 37 per cent. By this showing, which maritime policy would seem to be the one most deserving of imitation, the large gains with no subsidy, or the small gains, overbalanced by the pay in ten years of more than $60,000,000!

The case of Italy is even more striking. According to Curtis's Report to the State Department (indorsed by the American Shipping and Industrial League, the organization ormed to promote the subsidy scheme in this country) the Italian Government pays in subsidies, bounties, etc., to its shipping $3,503,035 per annum. The system was apparently adopted in December, 1885, and was in several of its features an adaptation of the French method. In 1880 the merchant tonnage of Italy, as given in the report of our Commission of Navigation, was 1,012,164 tons; in 1886, when the law went into effect, it was 1,029,513 tons; but in 1890, after five years of trial, the merchant tonnage had fallen to 816,567 tons. And yet it is this system which when applied

in Italy has resulted in a loss of about 20 per cent. of the merchant tonnage that we are asked to apply in this country, and are told that if adopted will revive our merchant marine.

According to the report of Consul-General Mason, of Frankford-on-the-Main, printed in Consular Report, No. 112, January, 1890, the Imperial German Government granted in 1885 a special bounty for the establishment and support of certain specified new lines of steamship service. This amounted to $1,047,619, and was and is paid to the North-German Lloyds to maintain three lines, one to India, China and Japan, another to Australia, and a third from Trieste to Egypt. This has apparently led to an increase of the German merchant marine to the extent of nine steamers. In 1880 its merchant tonnage was 1,182,097 tons. Before the bounty could have taken effect, that is in 1886, it was 1,451,842 tons, while in 1890 it was 1,569,311 tons. In other words, the gain since this partial bounty method was adopted has been less rapid than in the years before it went into effect. The gain in merchant tonnage in the United States was twice as rapid in the five years ending with 1890 than the gain in Germany.

According to Curtis' Report, referred to above (issued by the State Department in 1889), the two other largest payers of subsidies are the Argentine Republic, estimated as giving $3,000,000 per annum, and Brazil which paid out in this way $1,700,000 a year. The subsidy-hunters in this country can hardly make it appear that these payments have stimulated the Argentine and Brazilian merchant marines, for both are so small that they make no showing in the ordinary statement of the world's merchant tonnage.

Spain grants bounties to the annual amount of $1,571,000; but here again the merchant marine is relatively insignificant, in spite of the revivifying influences of liberal bounties.

This exhausts the list of nations which pay, either in direct subsidies or in postal subventions for three water-borne mails, the equivalent of $1,000,000 a year. That these have had the least influence in promoting a *general* activity and increase in the shipping business of the countries paying them cannot be maintained. No doubt the receivers of subsidies are pleased to obtain them, and they may lead to the maintenance by the French, Germans, Italians and Spanish of special lines of steamers that would not be continued in the absence of this public aid; but this in the main is for the gain of the owners of these ships. We are shortly to have the steamships City of New York and City of Paris transferred to the American flag, and for the honor of allowing these vessels to fly the stars and stripes our Government is to pay a large yearly bounty. These ships will make the same voyages in the future that they have in the past; their officers and owners will be the same; the only difference will be the flag which hangs over their sterns. It is obvious that the American people will obtain no more from this steamship service in the future than they have in the past; but while receiving nothing in addition they will, through their taxes, pay out many thousands of dollars a year to the shareholders of the company owning these two ships.

The True Way to Revive the American Shipping Trade.

The resuscitation of the American merchant marine is not to be brought about in any such petty fashion as this. What is needed is not artificial stimulus, but healthy growth. If we are in need of suggestions as to the course to pursue, in order to attain the desired end, let us not take for examples nations which either have no merchant marine or which are retrograding in commercial importance. Let us rather study our own history to determine the reasons for our former superiority, and the business methods of those nations which have made the most headway in maritime affairs.

As has been shown, the prosperity of the American merchant marine has been contemporaneous with a low range of tariff taxes, while the imposition of protective taxes has resulted, as effect follows cause, in a decline in our merchant tonnage engaged in foreign trade. It is apparent, therefore, that what is needed is not the application of nostrums, but the removal of the restrictions which now make impossible the successful prosecution of the business. Pledged to maintain the system of protection at all costs, the Republicans can offer no relief worth the trial for the evils of a prostrate commerce. The plan they have partly carried out, of paying mail subventions to a few favored lines of steamships, would, if completely successful, add but a few thousand tons to the tonnage of our merchant marine. What we need is such an opportunity to engage in the foreign shipping business as will in the next ten years add more than a million tons to the present tonnage of our merchant marine, and make the flag of our country a common sight in every seaport of the world. This beneficent result is to be brought about, not by granting special favors to a few individuals and corporations, but by freely giving to all the opportunity to enter into the business under conditions which promise profit to American energy, industry and capital. To do this the tariff must be placed upon a revenue basis, foreign-built ships must be given American registers, and all of those materials which enter into ship construction and ship maintenance must be placed upon the free list. It is true that sections 8 and 9, of the tariff law of 1890, permit of the importation and use, in bond, of certain materials used in the construction, equipment and repair of ships employed in foreign trade, but in practice it is found that the conditions controlling the utilization of this favor are so annoying, burdensome and expensive, that in the case of the few vessels that are built in this country for foreign trade, it is rarely thought expedient to take advantage of it.

Another plan suggested by the Republicans is, to copy the French scheme of paying to all American vessels 30 cents per ton for each thousand miles sailed in foreign trade. This has not produced expected results in France and Italy, and there is no reason for thinking it would be any more efficacious if applied in this country. It would involve the building and purchase of ships costing far more than they should, which when employed would depend for their profitable use upon the uncertain action of Congress. Thousands who would invest in shipping property if the chance of procuring low-cost ships was given them would decline under such doubtful conditions, to risk their money in ships, the first cost of which had been artifically enhanced ; while when the

experiment proved a failure, as it unquestionably would, the Federal Government would be petitioned to continue its bounty year after year, on the ground that as the investments had been made in good faith the investors were entitled to have their interests safe-guarded. In this way the melancholy and costly relics of the blunder might be continued long after its folly had become fully recognized. On the other hand, if the plan produced its proposed results, it would call for a large annual appropriation, increasing in size with the growth of our merchant tonnage, and having no discernible date of ending, since the trade intercourse thus established would move on stilts, which if at any time knocked away, would threaten to involve it in ruin. We should thus have created another vested interest to act as a leach on the U. S. Treasury.

We did not build up our great commerce between 1845 and 1860 by such paternal methods as this, and we cannot do so now or in the future. If we look abroad for a foreign copy, we should turn for suggestion to the successful maritime nations of the world; to Norway which grants not a cent of bounty, but affords to its citizens, by its tariff laws, an opportunity to build vessels at a low cost, or to buy them wherever they please, and to England where not the least restriction upon ship construction or ship purchase exists. The people of these two countries have demonstrated by their great successes in commerce, not merely the value, but the necessity of freedom of action, if maritime triumphs upon the high seas are to be won. To turn from these brilliant examples of maritime prosperity for the purpose of copying the methods of the French, the Italians and the Spanish, is as senseless as it would be to copy the Chinese methods of manufacture, or the systems of banking and currency that obtain in Patagonia.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

When the Republican party took control of the Federal Government in 1861, it found the income and the outgo nearly balancing each other, the latter then amounting to only $60,056,754. As the Hon. James G. Blaine says in his "Twenty Years of Congress," "the leaders of the Democratic party had guarded the Treasury with unceasing vigilance against every attempt at extravagance or corruption," and the result of Democratic frugality and honesty was apparent in the annual revenue and expenditures.

From 1861 to date the Republican party has been in control of at least one branch of Congress, and, except for four years, of the Presidency; and during more than one-half of that period, it has controlled both houses of Congress and the executive department of the Government. It has successfully evaded the "unceasing vigilance" of the Democratic party, and a part of the result of this evasion is apparent in the $1,035,686,921.20 appropriated by its last, the 51st, or Billion Dollar, Congress.

But that is not all. The Republican party has, from time to time, enacted laws which have fastened upon the public Treasury the enormous drains which have made it impossible for the Democratic party, when in partial control of the Government, to reduce the outflow to economical proportions; and at every attempt to repeal or modify any one of those laws, the Republican branch of Congress or the Republican President has interposed to prevent relief to the over-taxed people.

Unable to repeal the laws which created abuses in the public expenditures, the Democratic party has been reduced to the necessity of diminishing instead of abolishing those abuses, by lessening the appropriations wherever this could be done without doing violence to the public faith or injuring the public service.

Such savings as it has thus been able to make have been made against the earnest protest of the Republicans in Congress, and generally only after long

struggles between the two Houses, the Democrats nearly always being compelled to yield something of their cause, as in this, the 52d Congress, in order to avoid a prolonged session and an unseemly conflict.

The Democrats got control of the House in the 44th Congress, and appropriated $58,197,158.93 less than the Republicans appropriated in the 43d Congress.

The Republicans controlled the House in the 47th Congress, and appropriated $49,898,264.32 more than the Democrats appropriated in the 46th.

The Republicans were out of power in the House from the 47th to the 51st Congress, in which latter they appropriated $217,723,061.40 more than the Democrats appropriated in the last preceding Congress.

THE RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

In considering the appropriations made by the 52d Congress, it should be borne in mind that the savings made were brought about in spite of Republican resistance; that the appropriations were made almost entirely in compliance with laws heretofore enacted by Republican Congresses; that the Billion Dollar Congress, besides being itself extravagant, enacted laws which compel its successors to make unnecessary appropriations, and that the amounts carried by the appropriation bills, as these passed the House in the first instance, were largely increased by the Republican Senate. It will then appear that the "unceasing vigilance" of the Democratic party, though exercised against giant difficulties, has accomplished much by way of guarding the Treasury "against every attempt at extravagance or corruption."

The Billion Dollar Congress enacted laws which made necessary the following appropriations by this Congress:

Foreign mails	$390,290 00
Indian depredation claims	478,252 62
Collecting sugar bounty	250,890 00
Increase of judicial salaries	88,000 00
Additional clerks under new pension law	695,420 00
Mint at Philadelphia	620,000 00
Pensions (estimated)	48,000,000 00
Diplomatic and consular officers' salaries	25,000 00
Redemption national-bank notes	9,500,000 00
Expenses Treasury notes	125,000 00
Refund direct tax	225,000 00
Repayments to importers, debentures or drawbacks, customs	5,000,000 00
Bounty on sugar	10,000,000 00
Snag boats, Ohio river	25,000 00
Colleges for agricultural and mechanical arts	833,000 00
World's Fair	3,291,250 00
Total	$79,527,602 62

To those expenditures for which the present Congress has been compelled to appropriate may be added 1,057 new offices with salaries aggregating $1,452,930.82, in addition to some 648 charged above at $695,420; and 1,151 salaries increased at an annual cost of $159,724.82, in addition to the 63 judicial salaries charged above at $88,000, all created and made by the last Congress.

The Republican Senate added to the bills as they passed the House the sum of $32,407,798.23; but the House succeeded in forcing the Senate to consent that this additional amount should be reduced to $13,456,331.33, thus by "unceasing vigilance" saving to the Treasury $18,951,466.90.

In addition to this, over $25,700,000 of the permanent and indefinite appropriations must be charged to the action of the Billion Dollar Congress, inasmuch as these appropriations were necessarily made upon the basis established by the legislation of that Congress.

Remembering these things, look at this table, which shows the estimates of the amounts the Republican Treasury officials said that this Congress ought to appropriate, the amoun s it did appropriate, and the amounts appropriated by the Billion Dollar Congress at its two sessions respectively, etc. :

Title of Bill.	Treasury Estimates, 1893, Fiscal Year.	Fifty-second Congress.	Fifty-first Congress.	
		Law, 1892–'93, First Session.	Law, 1891–'92. Second Session.	Law, 1890–'91, First Session.
Agriculture	$3,360,995 50	$3,232,995 50	*a*$2,028,153 50	$1,799,100 00
Army	25,949,207 59	24,308,499 82	24,613,529 19	24,206,471 79
Diplomatic and consular	2,138,466 14	1,604,045 00	1,656,925 00	1,710,815 00
District of Columbia *b*	5,602,125 17	5,323,414 27	5,597,125 17	5,769,544 15
Fortification	9,386,607 00	2,734,276 00	3,774,803 00	4,232,935 00
Indian	8,608,907 76	7,664,047 84	*c*16,386,284 86	7,262,016 02
Legislative, etc	22,754,098 95	21,899,252 97	22,027,674 75	21,080,752 75
Military Academy	506,320 18	428,917 33	402,064 64	435,296 11
Navy	27,194,689 80	23,543,385 00	31,541,654 78	*d*24,196,085 53
Post-Office	80,323,400 51	80,331,876 73	77,907,222 61	72,226,698 99
Sundry civil	35,183,955 91	27,837,228 93	*f* 38,395,363 99	*g*31,100,341 38
Total	$221,008,668 61	$198,907,939 39	$225,330,801 49	$193,910,067 72
Pension	147,064,550 00	146,787,350 00	135,214,785 00	98,457,461 00
River and harbor	*h*58,064,950 00	21,153,618 00	(*i*)	25,136,225 00
Deficiencies	*j*15,254,891 39	*k*15,885,593 18	*l*38,699,746 96	*m*38,617,448 96
Total	$441,388,055 00	$382,684,500 57	$399,245,333 45	$356,121,211 68
Miscellaneous	*j*4,262,272 26	*j*3,153,000 00	*n*19,498,531 10	*o*7,010,905 27
Total regular annual appropriations	$445,650,327 26	$385,837,500 57	$418,743,864 55	$363,132,116 95
Permanent annual appropriations	121,863,880 00	*p*121,863,880 00	*p*122,486,808 00	*p*131,324,131 70
Grand total regular and permanent annual appropriations	$567,514,207 26	$507,701,380 57	$541,230,672 55	$494,456,248 65

Average annual appropriations made by the last Congress	$517,843,460 60
Amount of estimated revenues for fiscal year 1893	$375,000,000 00
Amount of estimated postal revenues for fiscal year 1893	80,336,350 44
Total estimated revenues for fiscal year 1893	$455,336,350 44

a Includes $889,753.50 for the Weather Bureau, heretofore appropriated for under the War Department in sundry civil act.

b One-half of the amounts for the District of Columbia payable by the United States, except amounts for the water department (estimated for 1893 at $403,939.46), which are payable from the revenues of the water department.

c Includes special appropriations for ratifying agreements, together with $2,991,450 payment of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians; in all $8,617,740.75.

d This amount includes $1,000,000, appropriated by joint resolution September 29, 1890, for nickel ore or nickel matter for naval purposes.

e Includes all the expenses of the postal service payable from postal revenues and out of the Treasury.

f This amount includes $985,000 estimated expenditures under indefinite appropriations for pay and bounty claims.

g This amount includes $1,362,059.16 actual expenditures under indefinite appropriations for pay and bounty claims,

h No estimate is included in the footings of the "annual estimates for the public service" for rivers and harbors for 1893. The amount that can be profitably expended in that fiscal year, as reported by the Chief of Engineers, is $58,064,950. (Book of Estimates, 1893, pages 202 208.)

i No general river and harbor appropriation act was passed for 1892, but an appropriation of $1.000,000 for the improvement of the Mississippi river was made by joint resolution approved March 3, 1891, and appropriations amounting to $1,951,200 for the improvement of certain harbors and rivers were included in the sundry civil act, making in all for 1892, $2,951,200.

j This amount is approximated and includes $2,653,000 for the World's Columbian Exhibition.

k This amount includes $7,674,232 for pensions for fiscal year 1892.

l This amount includes $29,385,598.34 for pensions for fiscal year 1891.

m This amount includes $25,321,907.35 for pensions for fiscal year 1890.

n This amount includes $15,227,000 for refund of direct taxes in addition to the specific sum of $500,000 appropriated for that object.

o This amount includes $1,000,000 for procuring farm mortgage and other statistics; $1,364,000 for aid to agricultural colleges; $1,200,000 for Rock Creek Park, and $598,055.81 for additional clerical force for Pension and other offices.

p This is the amount originally submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury as estimated to be necessary under permanent specific and indefinite appropriations, except that to the amount thus submitted for 1891, $101,628,453, there is added expenditures under permanent appropriations made subsequent to said estimate as follows: Salaries, diplomatic and consular officers, $27,756.79; redemption national banks notes, $23,553,298.50; expenses Treasury notes. $218,362.60; coinage of silver bullion, $210,893.14; rebate tobacco tax, $770,082.39, and repayment to importers and for debentures and drawbacks. $4,915,235.28; in all $29,695,678.70.

Statutory Checks on Economy.

The foregoing table shows that this Congress appropriated $59,812,829.69 less than the Republican Secretary of the Treasury recommended; $13,245,131.52 more than was appropriated at the first session of the 51st Congress; $33,529,291.98 less than was appropriated at the second session of the 51st Congress; and $10,142,080.03 less than the average appropriated at the two sessions of that Congress.

But in comparing the appropriations of the first session of this to those of the first session of the last Congress, $79,527,602.62, the excess due to the action of the Billion Congress, must be deducted from this year's appropriations; and comparing the amounts appropriated by this Congress with those appropriated at the second session of the last, $21,153,618, the amount of this year's River and Harbor bill, must be deducted, for the reason that there was no River and

Harbor bill passed at the second session of the last Congress. This shows the 52d Congress appropriated $66,282,472.10 less than was appropriated for the remaining purposes at the first session of the Billion Dollar Congress, and $54,682,909.98 less than for the remaining purposes at the second session of that Congress.

It is not pretended that every increase of expenditures is inexcusable, but it is insisted that the Republican party has imposed many wholly unjustifiable burdens upon the people. But so long as the Republican party retains power in any branch of the Government, the abolition of abuses will remain impossible. Every attempt to reduce expenditures is jeered and derided by the representatives of that party, and the Democracy must be content with small reductions until the people shall have made a change in public servants.

The Republicans boast of their success in fastening burdens upon the people, and to Democratic promises of reductions they reply, as did the Hon. Nelson Dingley, on the 5th day of August, 1892: "I can safely predict, Mr. Chairman, that they will do, that they can do, nothing of the kind." But they will try until they can and do succeed.

Turning from the Legislative to the Executive Department, the same "unceasing vigilance" is apparent. Excluding the years 1885 and 1889, because each fell within two administrations, and cannot, therefore, be charged to either; and excluding, also, expenditures on account of the sinking fund, interest on the public debt, premiums on loans and the purchase of bonds, retirement of bonds and postal revenues, applied to the postal service, the following expenditures are shown:

For the fiscal years 1882, 1883 and 1884 (Arthur Administration)	$582,700,104.92
For the fiscal years 1886, 1887 and 1888 (Cleveland Administration)	627,032,546.45
For the fiscal years 1890, 1891 and 1892 (Harrison Administration)	901,107,966.27

Deducting from the $44,332,441.52 increase in the fiscal years 1886–7–8 the payments on the Alabama awards, $5,739,265.25, and the increase in pension disbursements, $35,935,478.94, the increase during three years of Cleveland's Administration is shown to have been $2,657,697.33, while during Harrison's three years the increase over the Democratic Administration was $274,075,419.82.

When the extravagance of the Republican party is brought up, the accused always points to the old soldier, and says that it is for his benefit; and this year the increase of the navy and the cost of the census are made to do duty with the veteran. It is important, therefore, to ascertain how much truth there is in the plea.

The expenditure for pensions during the fiscal years named has been as follows:

For 1882, 1883 and 1884	$182,786,995 65
For 1886, 1887 and 1888	218,722,474 59
For 1890, 1891 and 1892	365,935,859 26

And for the increase of the Navy:

For 1882, 1883 and 1884	2,127,263 88
For 1886, 1887 and 1888	4,885,142 47
For 1890, 1891 and 1892	31,197,500 08

And for the census:

For 1882, 1883 and 1884	1,222,091 69
For 1886, 1887 and 1888	122,541 25
For 1890, 1891 and 1892	8,204,044 19

Aggregating these sums and subtracting them from the sums total which have been given, we find the following balances:

For 1882, 1883 and 1884	$396,563,754 20
For 1886, 1887 and 1888	403,302,388 14
For 1890, 1891 and 1892	495,770,562 74

This shows the increase of the Cleveland Administration over the Arthur Administration to be $6,738,633.94, and the increase of the Harrison Administration over the Cleveland Administration to be $92,468,174.60.

Deducting the amount of the payments on the Alabama awards, $5,739,265.25, the increase during Cleveland's administration is only $999,368.69, as against the enormous increase of $92,468,174.60 under Harrison. In view of this exhibit the old soldier is entitled to be mustered out of this ignoble service.

Republican extravagance and Democratic economy are the logical results of the principles of taxation avowed by the two parties respectively. The Republican party, through its dogma, that "the foreigner pays the tariff tax," insists that the Federal revenues are derived from taxes levied upon the peoples of other countries. The Government is, therefore, merely a machine, through the operations of which the American people collect from foreigners and distribute among themselves the amounts of our customs revenues. It necessarily follows that the more the Government collects and distributes, the more prosperous are the American people.

The Democratic party, on the contrary, maintains that the consumer pays the tariff tax, and that the Federal Government does not derive through taxation a single dollar that has not been coined from the sweat of an American brow; and that, therefore, the less that is collected and distributed, over and above the amount absolutely necessary to defray the cost of honest and economical administration, the lighter is the burden of the American citizen.

The Democratic party, working out its theory through its President and House of Representatives, having effected so much despite the fact that substantially all appropriations have been made, and that the Government was administered, under the extravagant laws enacted by Republican Congresses, now asks an opportunity to make appropriations, and to administer the Government, under Democratic economical laws and according to Democratic economical methods.

DEMOCRACY AND LABOR.

OPPOSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY TO BILLS IN THE INTEREST OF THE WAGE EARNERS.

From its organization to the present time, the great majority of the Democratic party has consisted of those who have daily worked for their daily bread, and it would, therefore, be strange, indeed, if the party's history did not contain much that had been done for laboring men.

A brief review of recent labor legislation will show the records of the two parties, in providing for the protection of the toiling millions.

IMPORTED CONTRACT LABOR.

The greatest difficulty that American labor has had to overcome in its endeavors to improve its condition has been the competition of imported laborers. For many years it was customary for employers, whenever their workmen asked for better or protested against worse conditions, to discharge their force and to fill the vacancies with "the pauper labor of Europe," brought here under contract to submit to about whatever conditions the importers might choose to impose. This system owed its origin and growth to an act passed by a Republican Congress in 1864. The second section of that act reads:

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories; and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract be recorded in the recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the homestead law when the title is consummated, or on property otherwise acquired until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States, or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude. (U. S. Stats. at Large, vol. 15, 1863–65.)

Under the fostering provisions of this act, the practice grew and flourished, while American workmen by the thousands were turned out of American workshops to look elsewhere for livelihood. From the date of this enactment until its repeal by a Democratic Congress in 1885, no fewer than 6,500,000 immigrants went into the productive employments of the United States, filling all the industrial establishments in various localities. The effect of this upon American labor is a matter of history.

The effect upon the imported laborers may be seen in the provisions of the law itself, the language of which is so broad that Congress felt compelled to insert the last clause, in order to disavow the purpose so plainly contained in what precedes it.

The Republican party kept that law on the statute books for twenty-one years; within that time many attempts were made to repeal it, but at the instance of the protected owners of the Republican party, successful resistance was always made. Even Senator Wilson, of Mass., was unable to get a hearing for his bills, introduced in 1869 and 1870. Objection was made to their consideration, and they were referred to Republican committees, where they died. But a Democratic House succeeded in repealing this obnoxious statute. On June 19, 1884, the House passed Hon. Martin A. Foran's bill prohibiting the importation of laborers under contract. The Republican Senate held the bill until the following February, when, the people having elected a Democratic President and a Democratic House, it was reluctantly taken up and passed, much to the displeasure of the protected manufacturers, who had greatly profited by the provisions of the Republican statute.

The Democratic statute provides penalties for its violation, and during the Democratic administration the law was strictly enforced, the President even writing personal letters to the district attorneys, in which he insisted upon their giving attention to the subject. The President and the Secretary of the Treasury both urged amendments to the act, to make it more effective. They asked especially for appropriations to enable them to enforce the law, and for power to return any person who, in violation of its provisions, might succeed in getting into the country and who should subsequently be detected.

EIGHT-HOUR LEGISLATION.

The first eight-hour law was introduced by Mr. Rogers, Democrat, of New Jersey, in 1866. The Congress was Republican and the bill was laid away and never considered.

Mr. Niblack, Democrat, of Indiana, introduced a joint resolution in the Thirty-ninth Congress, which was Republican, declaring eight hours a day's work in the Government service. This, too, died in committee.

March 14, 1867, Mr. Julian, Democrat, of Indiana, re-introduced the Rogers bill. Mr. Holman asked for its consideration, but this also went to the Judiciary Committee, where it remained.

In 1867, General Banks, Republican, also introduced an eight-hour bill, which passed the House, but was hung up in John Sherman's Finance Committee in the Senate.

In 1868, General Banks got an eight-hour law through the House and Thomas A. Hendricks got it through the Senate, against the protest of John Sherman and other Republicans.

Senator Sherman declared, after the passage of the bill, that its title should be changed to "A bill to pay Government employees 25 per cent. more wages than employees in private establishments receive."

The following act originated in the present Democratic House, and became a law August 1, 1892:

An Act relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon the public works of the United States and of the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the service and employment of all laborers and mechanics who are now or may hereafter be employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or sub-contractor upon any of the public works of the United States or of the said District of Columbia, is hereby limited and restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day, and it shall be unlawful for any officer of the United States Government or of the District of Columbia or any such contractor or sub-contractor whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control the services of such laborers or mechanics to require or permit any such laborer or mechanic to work more than eight hours in any calendar day except in case of extraordinary emergency.

SEC. 2. That any officer or agent of the Government of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or any contractor or sub-contractor whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control any laborer or mechanic employed upon any of the public works of the United States or of the District of Columbia who shall intentionally violate any provision of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and for each and every such offense shall upon conviction be punished by a fine not to exceed one thousand dollars or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court having jurisdiction thereof.

SEC. 3. The provisions of this act shall not be so construed as to in any manner apply to or affect contractors or sub-contractors, or to limit the hours of daily service of laborers or mechanics engaged upon the public works of the United States or of the District of Columbia for which contracts have been entered into prior to the passage of this act.

The history of the enforcement of the law of 1868, down to the time of the Democratic Administration, is very interesting, but it must be briefly told. The Republican officials determined that the law should be a dead letter; they, therefore, reduced wages whenever they reduced the hours of labor. The House passed a resolution, April 8, 1869, declaring against this practice, and Senator Wilson addressed a letter to the Secretary of War in which he protested against the construction put upon the law. The House resolution was allowed to lie in the Senate until the next session, when Senator Morrill called it up and offered an amendment repealing the eight-hour law. In May, 1869, President Grant issued an order requiring subordinate officers to allow a full day's wages for eight hours' work, but this order was wholly disregarded. In May, 1872, the President issued a similar order, which, likewise, was without effect.

This, in brief, is the history. But when the Democratic Administration came into power, the law was put into operation, and it was faithfully enforced while that Administration was in office.

OTHER DEMOCRATIC MEASURES.

No separate Committee on Labor was appointed in the House until the Forty-eighth Congress, which was Democratic, though such a committee had been asked for in Republican Congresses. That committee reported nine measures in the interest of labor:

1--A bill to establish a bureau of labor; 2—The bill to prohibit the importation of contract labor; 3—A bill to enforce the eight-hour law; 4—A joint resolution requiring the employment of citizens of the United States on government work; 5—Resolution to amend the constitution to prohibit the hiring out of convicts by the State; 6—A bill to prohibit the hiring out of United States prisoners; 7—A bil granting leave of absence to employees of the government printing office; 8—A bill to grant leave of absence to letter-carriers; 9—A bill to make effective the prohibition of Chinese immigration, etc.

Most of these either became laws during that and subsequent Congresses in which the House was Democratic, or owed their failure to do so to a Republican Senate.

In the Fiftieth Congress, on motion of Hon. J. J. O'Neill, of Missouri, the following was added to an appropriation bill.

"The public printer is hereby directed to rigidly enforce the provisions of the eight-hour law in the department under his charge."

In the same Democratic House the Labor Committee got through a law to establish a department of labor, and a law to limit the work of letter-carriers to eight hours.

That Democratic House passed and sent to the Republican Senate, where the bills were killed, the following:

1—A bill to prevent the use of the products of convict labor in the departments and in public works; 2—A bill to prevent the employment of alien labor by the Government or on public works; 3—A bill to protect the wages of mechanics, laborers and servants; 4—A bill to create a board of arbitration between transportation companies and their employees; 5—A bill to confine the sale of the products of convict labor to the States in which they are produced.

The Democratic House in the present, the Fifty-second, Congress passed these measures:

1—The eight-hour law, which has been set out in full; 2—A bill to compel common carriers engaged in inter-state commerce to equip their cars with automatic couplers and continuous brakes, and their locomotives with driving-wheel brakes; 3—A bill to equalize the privileges and advantages of labor laws among the employees of the various departments of the Government; 4—A joint resolution providing for an investigation by the Commissioner of Labor into the conditions of labor in the slums of cities having 200,000 or more inhabitants; 5—A provision of law condemnatory of the Pinkerton armed detective system; 6—A Chinese exclusion law.

There is on the House calendar a bill to exclude political influence in the employment of laborers under the authority of the United States; and pending in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union: 1—A resolution

for the compilation of laws relating to inter-state commerce and the labor laws of the various States and Territories, and of the District of Columbia; 2—A resolution providing for the collection of statistics relating to the effects of machinery on labor. In the committees there are many measures of interest to labor, and these will receive attention as rapidly as they can be reached.

The importance of the bill relating to the brakes and car couplers to be used by common carriers engaged in inter-state commerce can hardly be overestimated, but the Republican Senate's estimate of it can be appreciated when it is known that the measure has been quietly sleeping in a committee room of that body for several months, without even a prospect of being brought out. The whole number of employees engaged in handling trains in inter-state commerce during the year ended June 30, 1890, was 153,235, of whom 1,459 were killed and to whom 13,117 injuries resulted from accidents. Of those killed, 369 met death in coupling cars and 7,841 accidents occurred in the same hazardous occupation. Where the automatic couplers were in use, the fatal accidents averaged only one for 1,700,000 passengers carried, and the injuries only one for 200,000 carried.

It is, therefore, manifestly the duty of these carriers to equip their trains with the most approved safety appliances; and it is equally manifest that, failing to perform that duty, they should be compelled to perform it, as the Democratic House has endeavored to compel them.

Record of the Billion Dollar Congress.

The Fifty-first Congress, Republican in both branches, did nothing for labor, though it did much against its interests. For the purpose of having something to show to the workingman by way of inducement to vote the Republican ticket, the House, prior to the election of 1890, passed five bills which related to the subject of labor.

These bills went to the Senate, where they were pending when the election was held. They were used by the Republican press and stump speakers all over the country to show the Republican party's devotion to the American workingman. But, the election over, the Republican Congress, at its second session, treated all these measures with contempt, and not one of them succeeded in becoming a law.

Chinese Exclusion.

The importation of coolie labor was given great encouragement and "protection" by the Republican imported Contract Labor Law of 1864, and it prospered wonderfully. Indeed, it nearly filled some of the Western States with Chinese immigrants, and would have filled them entirely but for the action of a Democratic House of Representatives. The efforts to restrict this immigration began in 1869, in which year, December 6, Senator Williams, Oregon, introduced a bill to regulate it, and to prevent the importation of Chinamen under contract. Upon motion of Senator Zach. Chandler, this bill was indefinitely postponed.

In January, 1870, Representative Johnson, California, introduced a joint resolution to restrict the immigration, but the Republican Committee refused to report it to the House; and it died.

June 6, 1870, Senator Stewart, Nevada, introduced a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor; defeated.

June 7, Representative Sargent, California, introduced a similar bill in the House; never reported from the committee.

July 9, 1870, Representative Cake, Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution against the importation of Chinese coolies under contract, and directing an investigation of the subject; died in committee.

July 7, 1870, Representative Mungen, Ohio, introduced a resolution for the protection of American labor against the Chinese; killed in committee.

December 18, 1871, Representative Coughlan, California, introduced a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor; referred to Committee on the Judiciary, which committee was subsequently discharged from further consideration, the bill being then referred to another committee, which reported a substitute. This substitute was recommitted, and it has ever since been awaiting the resurrection.

April 30, 1872, Senator Casserly, California, introduced a bill to prohibit contracts for servile labor and to amend and enforce the laws relating to the coolie trade; died in committee.

In 1879, a bill limiting to fifteen the number of Chinese immigrants that might be transported by vessels on each trip passed the House, 104 Democrats and 51 Republicans voting for it; 56 Republicans and 16 Democrats against it. In the Senate it received 22 affirmative Democratic votes, 19 Republican, and one Independent. Against it were 20 Republicans and 8 Democrats.

Mr. R. B. Hayes, who was then in the White House, returned the bill to the House with his veto.

Upon the question of passing the measure over the veto, the vote stood: Yeas—Democrats, 88; Republicans, 22. Total, 110. Nays—Republicans, 81; Democrats, 15. Total, 96. So the bill, not receiving two-thirds, did not pass.

The opposition to these bills and resolutions was rested mainly upon the ground that they would be violations of the treaty between the United States and the Chinese government.

In September, 1880, a new treaty was negotiated, by which the United States were given the right to restrict this immigration. Accordingly, in 1882, a bill providing for the exclusion of the Chinese for a term of twenty years was sent to the President. In the House the vote was: Yeas—Democrats, 98; Greenbackers, 8; Republicans, 61. Total, 167. Nays—Republicans, 62; Democrats, 4. Total, 66. In the Senate it was: Yeas—Democrats, 31; Republicans, 6. Total, 37. Nays—Democrats, none; Republicans, 28; Independent, 1. Total, 29.

The President vetoed the bill, and upon the question of passing it over the veto, the senators voted just as they did upon the original passage of the measure.

Thereupon a new bill, in which the term of exclusion was limited to ten years, was pushed through. Upon this the vote in the House was: Yeas—

Democrats, 103; Republicans, 91; Greenbackers, 7. Total, 201. Nays—Republicans 34; Democrats, 3. Total, 37. In the Senate: Yeas—Democrats, 31; Republicans, 9. Total, 40. Nayes—Republicans 24; Democrats, none; Independent, 1. Total, 25.

This measure became the Act of May 6, 1882, commonly known as the Chinese Exclusion Act.

The Republican federal judges in California held that Chinamen who were subjects of countries other than China were not subject to the restrictions of this act, and thereupon the law of July, 1884, was passed for the purpose of remedying this defect in the statute.

March 16, 1888, President Cleveland sent to the Senate for consideration a treaty by the terms of which Chinese laborers were to be excluded for a term of twenty years; and, in case that neither party gave notice six months before the end of the term of its desire to terminate the treaty, the exclusion was to continue twenty years longer.

To this treaty the Senate made two amendments, which did not affect the substance of the convention, but, the Chinese government failing to ratify it as amended, the Act of October 1, 1888, was passed. This act, known as the Scott law, excluded all Chinese laborers who were absent from the country when the law took effect, whether such laborers had ever been in the country or not, declaring void all certificates of identity theretofore issued and providing that no more should be given.

The existing laws being about to expire by limitation, the House passed a bill, April 4, 1892, providing for the absolute exclusion of all Chinese persons. In the Senate this bill was modified so that its effect was to extend, for a term of ten years, all the laws then in force prohibiting and regulating Chinese immigration; and, as amended by the Senate and in the committee of conference, it became the Act of May 5, 1892, entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States." Such, after many vicissitudes, is the present state of the law.

Harrison's Chinese Record.

It would be unjust to President Harrison to omit particular reference to his connection with a subject which is of such vital importance to the Pacific coast and which is of such great interest to the whole country.

In 1880, Daniel M. Ransdell, at present marshal of the District of Columbia, by appointment of President Harrison, was clerk of a court in Marion county, the county in which Indianapolis is situated, in Indiana. The election of members of the Legislature which was to elect a United States Senator was coming on, Benjamin Harrison was a candidate for the Senatorship, and the legislative election promised to be close. Political enterprise suggested to Mr. Harrison's friends the naturalization of the Chinamen in the city, in order that the Republican vote might be somewhat increased.

There was very grave doubt whether these Mongolians were eligible to citizenship under the law, but Mr. Harrison and other more or less astute lawyers and politicians of Republican faith deciding that they were, papers were issued to five of them by Mr. Harrison's friend, Ransdell; and at the succeeding election,

October 5, 1880, two of these new-fangled citizens cast their ballots for the Republican candidates, swearing their votes in in spite of the challenges that were urged by Democrats. The three other newly-made Republicans did not vote, so far as is known.

The legislature was Republican, and Mr. Harrison was sent to the United States Senate, taking his seat March 4, 1881. In grateful remembrance of the support which he had received, he made for himself this record :

1. On March 8, 1882, Senator Hoar introduced the following amendment to the Exclusion Act, then pending : "Provided, That this bill shall not apply to any skilled laborer who shall establish that he comes to this country without any contract by which his labor is the property of any person other than himself."

Seventeen Republican Senators, including Senator Harrison, voted aye.

2. On the same day Senator Hoar offered the following :

"Provided, That any laborer who shall receive a certificate from the U. S. Consul at the port where he shall embark that he is an artisan coming to this country at his own expense and of his own free will, and has established such fact to the satisfaction of such consul, shall not be affected by this bill."

Benjamin Harrison and nineteen other Republican Senators voted aye.

3. On March 9, 1882, upon an amendment offered by Senator Farley, of California, to prohibit the naturalization of Chinese, Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, is recorded as dodging, although on April 25 following he voted against this amendment.

The same policy was pursued on the same day on a proposition submitted by Senator Grover, of Oregon, to make the term "Chinese Laborers" include all Chinese, whether skilled or unskilled.

4. On the same day, March 9, 1882, Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, offered an amendment changing the term of exclusion from twenty to ten years. Mr. Harrison was absent, but paired with Mr. Maxey, of Texas (Democrat), who, before the vote was taken, rose in his place in the Senate and said :

MR. MAXEY—On this particular amendment I am paired with the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Harrison), who is necessarily absent. I would vote "nay" if he were here, and the Senator from Indiana would vote "aye."

This is of course equivalent to a vote in favor of this amendment. Twenty Senators, all Republicans, voted for the amendment, and twenty-one, all Democrats, except four, voted against it.

5. Again, on the same day, March 9, 1882, when the vote was taken on the final passage of the twenty years exclusion act, Senator Harrison was still absent. When his name was called, Senator Maxey, of Texas, again rose and said :

Mr. Maxey—I was paired with the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Harrison) on the ten years' amendment. In the note which he wrote me he said if that amendment should be voted down he would vote against the bill. I am inclined to think that under that statement he would regard it as a pair upon the bill, because the amendment was voted down, and therefore I shall decline to vote. I should vote for the bill, and he, from the statement made to me, would vote against it.

Thus did Benjamin Harrison, even during a temporary absence from the Senate, still insist upon carrying out his scheme to promote the unrestricted

importation of servile labor. This was his way of "protecting" American labor even when it would have been possible for him to have dodged.

The bill was passed by a vote of thirty-five ayes, all but eight of which were cast by Democratic Senators, to fifteen nays, only one of which was cast by a man who had been chosen as a Democrat.

6. On April 5, 1882, while Senator Farley proposed to take up President Arthur's veto of the Chinese Restriction bill, twenty-five Republican Senators voted against it, among them appearing the name of Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.

7. At the same session Senator Sherman moved that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, there to be smothered. Only eighteen Republican Senators voted for this, but among them appears the name of Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.

8. On the same day, again, the motion to refer the President's veto message, with accompanying papers, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, in order to kill it, was voted for by nineteen Republican Senators. As usual, the name of Benjamin Harrison is found with them.

9. On the same day, on the question of passing the bill, notwithstanding the objections of the President, twenty-one Republican Senators voted "nay." Among them, consistent to the last in favor of the free and unrestricted importation of the Chinese hordes, stands the name of Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.

10. On April 25, 1882, a new bill to prohibit Chinese immigration for ten years, was introduced in the Senate, and on motion to strike out Section 14, which provided that

> "Hereafter no State Court or Court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship, and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed,"

the vote was 26 ayes, 32 nays and 18 absent.

Benjamin Harrison voted aye, and thus declared himself in favor of the policy he had promoted in his own city in 1880, when five Chinamen were naturalized upon his recommendation and advice, in order that they might vote for the Republican candidates for State offices and thus save some of Dorsey's "soap."

11. In the new Restriction bill, as in the old one, the following amendment was proposed :

> "Sec. 15. That the words Chinese laborers, wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."

Twenty-nine Republican Senators voted, on April 25, 1882, in favor of striking out this amendment, which was adopted by a majority of one.

As usual, Benjamin Harrison was found among the advocates of the unrestricted importation of cheap labor by the creation of a condition whereby it might be brought in.

12. When this provision was reported to the Senate from the Committee of the Whole on April 28, Mr. Harrison again voted with nineteen of his Republican colleagues in favor of this loophole for the introduction of cheap labor.

13. On April 28, Senator Edmunds moved the following amendment:

"The words Chinese laborers, wherever used in the act, shall be construed to mean persons usually engaged in manual labor."

Seventeen Republican Senators voted in favor of this construction of the bill, among whom appears the name of Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.

14. On the same day Senator Edmunds moved to strike out the section prohibiting absolutely the provision forbidding the naturalization of the Chinese, and to insert this in lieu of it:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed to change the existing naturalization laws so as to admit Chinese persons to citizenship."

Senator Harrison's record on the naturalization question had been made up. He had given an opinion to the effect that Chinamen could be naturalized under the laws as they then existed. With 15 other Republican Senators he voted aye.

15. On April 28, 1882, the vote was taken on the final passage of the bill, and, of course, Senator Harrison voted no.

16. When the Act of July, 1884, extending the Act of 1882 to Chinese who were subjects of countries other than China, came before the Senate, Senator Harrison dodged the vote.

The President was always a free-trader—in Chinese coolies; and he utilized the imports, by dividing them into blocks of five and voting as many as possible for the Republican ticket.

ELECTION FIGURES.

Vote for Representatives in Fifty-second Congress, 1890.

States and Territories.*	Democratic.	Democratic and Farmers' Alliance.	Farmers' Alliance or People's Party.	Republican.	Prohibition.	Independent.	Labor and Union Labor.†
ALABAMA	85,854	.....	....	32,320	.....	....	....
ARIZONA	6,137	.....	.....	4,941	.....	....	....
ARKANSAS	69,768	.....	.....	42,550	.....	....	....
CALIFORNIA	117,361	.....	.....	128,061	6,199	....	....
COLORADO	34,736	.....	5,207	43,118	1,054	....	....
CONNECTICUT	67,888	.....	.....	63,701	3,250	....	....
DELAWARE	17,848	.....	.....	17,180	138	....	....
FLORIDA	29,204	.....	.....	15,209	.....	....	....
GEORGIA	86,128	.....	.....	16,737	.....	4,087	....
IDAHO	8,026	.....	....	10,130	.....	....	....
ILLINOIS	342,042	.....	6,698	311,320	15,458	....	....
INDIANA	239,258	.....	4,649	216,766	10,139	....	....
IOWA	194,832	.....	4,720	185,772	1,427	....	1,243
KANSAS	26,717	76,844	63,924	122,682	245	....	....
KENTUCKY	118,684	.....	10,053	64,510	5,395	....	....
LOUISIANA	59,801	....	954	12,773	.....	....	558
MAINE	45,831	.....	.....	63,578	3,190	....	....
MARYLAND	99,848	.....	.....	79,800	3,977	....	....
MASSACHUSETTS	137,079	.....	.....	133,194	9,764	....	....
MICHIGAN	186,649	.....	8,513	177,023	21,237	....	....
MINNESOTA	86,943	20,306	24,570	98,316	5,500	....	....
MISSISSIPPI	49,154	.....	.....	13,553	.....	....	....
MISSOURI	254,736	.....	.....	184,337	771	707	23,492
MONTANA	15,411	.....	.....	15,128	.....	....	....
NEBRASKA	90,833	.....	44,897	72,879	3,851	....	....
NEVADA	5,536	.....	.....	6,610	.....	....	....
NEW HAMPSHIRE	42,865	.....	.....	41,373	1,186	....	....
NEW JERSEY	128,417	.....	.....	114,808	8,425	....	....
NEW MEXICO	17,206	.....	.....	15,142	.....	....	....
NEW YORK	500,395	.....	.. ..	421,403	32,060	4,713	5,998
NORTH CAROLINA	141,666	.....	.....	106,658	1,390	....	....
NORTH DAKOTA	14,330	.....	.....	21,365	.....	....	....
OHIO	351,528	.....	.....	362,590	21,891	....	....
OKLAHOMA	2,446	.....	1,529	4,478	.....	....	....
OREGON	30,263	.....	.....	40,176	2,985	...	....
PENNSYLVANIA	430,371	.....	.....	467,742	13,707	....	....
RHODE ISLAND	18,723	.....	.....	16,941	1,543	....	....
SOUTH CAROLINA	58,765	.....	.....	14,479	.....	....	....
SOUTH DAKOTA	35,294	.....	49,912	69 409	.....	....	....
TENNESSEE	105,316	.....	.....	79,613	8,583	....	....
TEXAS	264,333	... ..	.....	56,063	.....	3,102	....
VERMONT	17,565	.....	.....	35,228	.....	....	....
VIRGINIA	135,978	.....	.....	47,225	2,126	2,794	....
WASHINGTON	22,831	.....	.....	29,153	2,819	....	....
WEST VIRGINIA	78,924	.....	.....	69,631	957	....	....
WISCONSIN	161,901	.....	.....	128,179	10,433	....	....
WYOMING	6,219	.....	.....	9,078	.....	....	....
TOTAL	5,042,140	97,150	230,343	4,282,922	198,880	15,323	31,288

* Delegates from Territories. † Including 5,998 Socialistic Labor Party in New York.

Total Democratic Vote (including that combined with Farmers' Alliance in Kansas and Minnesota*)	5,083,298
Total Republican Vote	4,282,922
Democratic Majority over Republican Vote	800,376
Combined Anti-Republican Vote	5,615,124
Total Republican Vote	4,282,922
Republican Party in a Minority of	1,332,202
Total Democratic Vote	5,083,298
Combined Vote for other than Regular Democratic Candidates	4,814,748
Democratic Majority over all	268,550

The New Apportionment.

Under the act to apportion Representatives in Congress among the States under the Federal Census of population in 1890, which passed Congress and was approved February 7, 1891, the whole number of Representatives after March 4, 1893, will be 356. In accordance with the act, the several States will be represented in the lower House of the Fifty-third Congress by the number of members stated in the first column, and consequently be entitled to the number of Presidential electoral votes stated in the second column below.

States.	Representatives in the 53d Congress.	Electoral Votes in the Next Presidential Election.	States.	Representatives in the 53d Congress.	Electoral Votes in the Next Presidential Election.
ALABAMA	9	11	NEBRASKA	6	8
ARKANSAS	6	8	NEVADA	1	3
CALIFORNIA	7	9	NEW HAMPSHIRE	2	4
COLORADO	2	4	NEW JERSEY	8	10
CONNECTICUT	4	6	NEW YORK	34	36
DELAWARE	1	3	NORTH CAROLINA	9	11
FLORIDA	2	4	NORTH DAKOTA	1	3
GEORGIA	11	13	OHIO	21	23
IDAHO	1	3	OREGON	2	4
ILLINOIS	22	24	PENNSYLVANIA	30	32
INDIANA	13	15	RHODE ISLAND	2	4
IOWA	11	13	SOUTH CAROLINA	7	9
KANSAS	8	10	SOUTH DAKOTA	2	4
KENTUCKY	11	13	TENNESSEE	10	12
LOUISIANA	6	8	TEXAS	13	15
MAINE	4	6	VERMONT	2	4
MARYLAND	6	8	VIRGINIA	10	12
MASSACHUSETTS	13	15	WASHINGTON	2	4
MICHIGAN	12	14	WEST VIRGINIA	4	6
MINNESOTA	7	9	WISCONSIN	10	12
MISSISSIPPI	7	9	WYOMING	1	3
MISSOURI	15	17			
MONTANA	1	3	TOTAL	356	444

Electoral votes necessary to a choice 223

* To obtain the Democratic proportion of the vote which was combined with that of the Farmers' Alliance in three districts in Kansas, the vote given in those districts for the Democratic candidate for Governer has been eliminated. It was 28,464, and that may be taken approximately as the Democratic part of the combined vote for Congressmen. By a similar process the Democratic part of the combined vote in one district in Minnesota is found to be approximately 12,694.

Popular and Electoral Vote for President, 1884.

States.	1884. Popular Vote. Cleveland, *Democrat.*	Blaine, *Republican.*	Butler, *Greenback.*	St. John, *Prohibition.*	Cleveland's Plurality.	Blaine's Plurality.	Total Vote.	Electoral Vote. Cleveland, *Democrat.*	Blaine, *Republican.*
Alabama	92,973	59,144	762	610	33,829	.....	153,489	10	..
Arkansas	72,927	50,895	1,847	.....	22,032	.....	125,669	7	..
California	89,288	102,416	2,017	2,930	.....	13,128	196,641	..	8
Colorado	27,603	36,166	1,961	762	.....	8,563	66,492	..	3
Connecticut	67,182	65,898	1,685	2,494	1,284	.....	137,259	6	..
Delaware	16,976	13,053	10	64	3,923	.....	30,103	3	..
Florida	31,769	28,031	.....	72	3,738	.....	59,872	4	..
Georgia	94,653	47,692	135	168	46,961	.....	142,648	12	..
Illinois	312,584	337,411	10,849	12,005	.....	24,827	672,849	..	22
Indiana	244,992	238,480	8,293	3,028	6,512	.....	494,793	15	..
Iowa	177,316	197,089	.....	1,472	.....	19,773	375,877	..	13
Kansas	90,132	154,406	16,341	4,954	.....	64,274	265,833	..	9
Kentucky	152,961	118,122	1,693	3,139	34,839	.....	275,915	13	..
Louisiana	62,546	46,347	120	338	16,199	.....	109,351	8	..
Maine	51,656	71,716	3,994	2,143	.....	20,060	129,509	..	6
Maryland	96,866	85,748	578	2,827	11,118	.....	186,019	8	..
Massachusetts	122,352	146,724	24,382	9,925	.....	24,372	303,383	..	14
Michigan	189,361	192,669	753	18,403	.....	3,308	401,186	..	13
Minnesota	70,065	111,685	3,583	4,684	.....	41,620	190,017	..	7
Mississippi	76,510	43,509	.....	.....	33,001	.....	120,020	9	..
Missouri	235,988	202,929	.....	2,153	33,059	.....	441,070	16	..
Nebraska	54,391	76,903	.....	2,899	.....	22,512	134,193	..	5
Nevada	5,578	7,193	26	.....	.....	1,615	12,797	..	3
New Hampshire	39,187	43,250	552	1,571	.....	4,063	84,560	..	4
New Jersey	127,778	123,366	3,456	6,153	4,412	.....	260,753	9	..
New York	563,048	562,001	17,002	25,001	1,047	.....	1,167,052	36	..
North Carolina	142,952	125,068	.....	454	17,884	.....	268,474	11	..
Ohio	368,286	400,082	5,170	11,269	.....	31,796	784,807	..	23
Oregon	24,604	26,860	726	492	.....	2,256	52,682	..	3
Pennsylvania	392,785	473,804	17,002	15,737	.....	81,019	899,328	..	30
Rhode Island	12,391	19,030	422	928	.....	6,639	32,771	..	4
South Carolina	69,764	21,733	.....	.....	48,031	.....	91,497	9	..
Tennessee	133,270	124,090	957	1,151	9,180	.....	259,468	12	..
Texas	223,679	91,701	3,321	3,508	131,978	.....	322,209	13	..
Vermont	17,331	39,514	785	1,752	.....	22,183	59,382	..	4
Virginia	145,497	139,356	.....	138	6,141	.....	284,991	12	..
West Virginia	67,317	63,096	805	929	4,221	.....	132,157	6	..
Wisconsin	146,459	161,157	4,598	7,656	.....	14,698	319,870	..	11
Total	4,911,017	4,848,334	133,825	151,809	469,389	406,706	10,044,985	219	182
Pluralities	62,683	.....	.....	.....	62,683	.....	.....	...	...

Popular and Electoral Vote for President, 1888.

States.	1888.										
	Popular Vote.									Electoral Vote.	
	Cleveland, *Democrat.*	Harrison, *Republican.*	Fisk, *Prohibition.*	Streeter, *Union Labor.*	Cowdry, *United Labor.*	Curtis, *American.*	Cleveland's Plurality.	Harrison's Plurality.	Total Vote.	Cleveland, *Democrat.*	Harrison, *Republican.*
Alabama	117,320	56,197	588	.....	....	....	61,123	.....	174,100	10	..
Arkansas	85,962	58,752	641	10,613	....	....	27,210	.....	155,968	7	..
California	117,729	124,816	5,761	.....	....	1,591	.....	7,087	251,239	..	8
Colorado	37,567	50,774	2,191	1,266	....	....	.....	13,207	91,798	..	3
Connecticut	74,920	74,584	4,234	240	....	....	336	.....	153,978	6	..
Delaware	16,414	12,973	400	.....	....	....	3,441	.....	29,787	3	..
Florida	39,561	26,657	423	.....	....	....	12,904	.....	66,641	4	..
Georgia	100,499	40,496	1,808	136	....	....	60,003	.....	142,939	12	..
Illinois	348,278	370,473	21,695	7,090	140	....	.....	22,195	747,686	..	22
Indiana	261,013	263,361	9,881	2,694	....	....	.....	2,348	536,949	..	15
Iowa	179,877	211,598	3,550	9,105	....	....	.....	31,711	404,130	..	13
Kansas	102,745	182,904	6,779	37,788	....	....	.....	80,159	334,035	..	9
Kentucky	183,800	155,134	5,225	622	....	....	28,666	.....	344,781	13	..
Louisiana	85,032	30,484	160	39	....	....	54,548	.....	115,744	8	..
Maine	50,481	73,734	2,691	1,344	....	....	.....	23,253	128,250	..	6
Maryland	106,168	99,986	4,767	.....	..	....	6,182	.....	210,921	8	..
Mass.	151,855	183,892	8,701	.....	....	....	.....	32,037	344,448	..	14
Michigan	213,469	236,387	20,942	4,555	....	....	.....	22,918	476,273	..	13
Minnesota	104,385	142,492	15,311	1,094	....	....	.....	38,107	263,306	..	7
Mississippi	85,471	30,096	218	22	....	....	55,375	.....	115,807	9	..
Missouri	261,974	236,257	4,589	18,632	....	....	25,717	.....	523,198	16	..
Nebraska	80,552	108,425	9,429	4,226	....	....	.....	27,873	202,653	..	5
Nevada	5,226	7,229	41	.....	....	....	.....	1,903	12,596	..	3
N. Hampshire	43,382	45,724	1,566	13	....	....	.....	2,342	90,730	..	4
New Jersey	151,493	144,344	7,904	.....	..	...	7,149	.....	303,741	9	..
New York	635,757	648,759	30,231	626	2,668	....	.....	13,002	1,320,109	..	36
N. Carolina	147,902	134,784	2,789	47	....	....	13,118	.....	285,512	11	..
Ohio	396,455	416,054	24,356	3,496	....	....	.....	19,599	841,941	..	23
Oregon	26,522	33,291	1,677	363	....	....	.....	6,769	61,911	..	3
Pennsylvania	446,633	526,091	20,947	3,873	....	....	.....	79,458	997,568	..	30
Rhode Island	17,530	21,968	1,250	18	....	....	.....	4,438	40,766	..	4
S. Carolina	65,825	13,736	.....	.....	....	....	52,089	.....	79,941	9	..
Tennessee	158,779	138,988	5,969	48	....	....	19,791	.....	303,736	12	..
Texas	234,883	88,422	4,749	29,459	....	....	146,461	.....	357,513	13	..
Vermont	16,788	45,192	1,460	.....	....	....	.....	28,404	63,440	..	4
Virginia	151,977	150,438	1,678	.....	....	....	1,539	.....	304,093	12	..
W. Virginia	78,677	78,171	1,084	1,508	....	....	506	.....	159,440	6	..
Wisconsin	155,232	176,553	14,277	8,552	....	....	.....	21,321	354,614	..	11
Total	5,538,233	5,440,216	249,907	148,105	2,808	1,591	576,158	478,141	11,392,382	168	233
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